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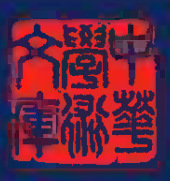

Chih-P'ing Chou *Editor*
Hu Shih

English Writings of Hu Shih

Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History

Volume 2

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Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)

外语教学与研究出版社
FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS

Springer

Editor
Chih-P'ing Chou
East Asian Studies Department
Princeton University
08542 Princeton, New Jersey
USA

Author
Hu Shih

ISSN 2195-1853 ISSN 2195-1861 (electronic)
ISBN 978-3-642-31180-2 ISBN 978-3-642-31181-9 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9
Springer Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2012955944

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Acknowledgments

Hu Shih's English writings, except his doctoral thesis *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*[1] and *The Chinese Renaissance*[2] (adopted from his Haskell Lectures at Chicago University in 1933), were rarely published in a book format. The rest of his essays, speeches, and articles were all scattered in various journals, magazines, and newspapers. The wide time span and geographic distance from the original publications have made the task of collecting Hu's English writings extremely difficult.

In his later years, Hu had planned to organize his scattered English writings and edit some of them for publishing. The first person who proposed this idea was Yang Liansheng, a professor at Harvard University at the time. Yang first brought up this idea in a letter to Hu on February 11, 1961. In the letter Yang wrote:

> I've now obtained an offprint copy of your speech at Harvard on immortality in Chinese intellectual history. Initially I wanted to post it to you, but since you are coming soon, I may well present it to you in person when we meet. I am also thinking about your article on religious history—the one for the 300th anniversary of Harvard University—and the one about Zen (maybe there are others that I don't remember, only your English articles). If you agree, it might be good to put these articles together and publish a collection, so it would be easier for students to read. For this purpose, an approval from Harvard University might be necessary. Maybe I should just ask President Pusey. The second question is where to publish this book. If you don't have a specific preference, I can discuss with the press to which I've recently agreed to be an editorial advisor. To be honest, English language materials about Chinese religion and thought are too scarce, so this book will definitely be very popular among students.[3]

[1] Hu Shih (Shih Hu), *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China* (Shanghai: The Oriental Book Company, 1928).

[2] Hu Shih, *The Chinese Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934).

[3] Hu Shih Memorial Hall edited, *Lun xue tan shi er shi nian: Hu Shih Yang Liansheng wang lai shu zha* (correspondence between Hu Shih and Yang Liansheng), Taipei Linking, 1998: 390.

Hu Shih was hospitalized for a serious illness at that time, so he asked Lao Gan to reply to Yang's letter regarding the publication of his English writings. The letter said:

> Mr. Hu is interested in the idea of publishing a collection of his articles. The articles you selected were all fine. Furthermore, there are a few other pieces on religion, culture and thought that might well be included in such a collection. These articles need copyright clearance, but Dr. Hu is ill and could not go over them one by one. In any case, these articles are all in journals and magazines, so it should be easy to find. Please arrange for publishers at your discretion. Dr. Hu would only be most appreciative of your help.[4]

Yang replied to this letter on April 21 to report on the compilation progress:

> I've discussed with Karl Hill, editor from Beacon Press, about your book. I showed him your "Immorality" and the article on Zen history in *Philosophy East and West*, and I told him that we should also include "Indianization" and the one on Zen published in the *Journal of North China Branch of Royal Artistic Society*. The editor suggested enlarging the content to 300 pages or even slightly more. They want to publish a hardcover copy. If we can deliver the manuscript in January then it could be published in 1962. I wonder how you feel about this arrangement. The publisher also would like you to write an introduction for the book. Whether it is long or short will be up to you. I believe this is a reasonable request.
>
> I think your "Natural Law in the Chinese Tradition" article should be included and I have yet to see "Authority and Freedom in the Ancient Asiatic World." If we wish to enlarge the book content by adding some articles on law, there is this speech about Wang Huizu and some others on Song Dynasty scholars and law. Would it be possible for you to edit these speeches as well? Please also instruct on how many papers should be included and I shall discuss with Hill again.
>
> We also need permission from Harvard University for publication. If you are too busy to tend to these matters, you could authorize me to write them a letter on your behalf.[5]

On July 29 Yang wrote to Hu Shih again on this matter:

> Beacon Press is very enthusiastic about publishing your book, they've asked twice about our progress. I told them that your health condition does not allow you to engage in writing at present. My suggestion is that we do not limit our selection to journal and magazine articles. We can also include chapters in your other books (for example the "Chinese Renaissance" speech at Chicago). What do you think? I truly hope that you could write me a letter in English to authorize to solicit copyrights for your articles. You may wait until the whole list of content is completed to write an introduction.[6]

On October 12, Yang wrote yet another letter to Hu Shih to inform him of the publishing progress, indicating that the publisher had been secured and the copyright with Harvard University had been settled as well. The publishing contract would be signed immediately once the manuscripts are ready, but according to available evidence, Hu Shih never answered Yang's letters himself. After Hu's sudden death from a heart attack on February 24, 1962, the publication of Hu Shih's English writings was suspended.

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[4] *Ibid*., 393.

[5] *Ibid*., 394.

[6] *Ibid.*, 395.

Yang was one of the persons appointed by Hu Shih to collect and publish his English works. On October 20, 1986, a letter was sent to Wu Daqiu, president of "Academia Sinica" in Taiwan at the time, stating that the Hu Shih Memorial Hall intended to invite Yang to edit the collection of Hu's lectures at the University of California on Chinese intellectual history. However, Yang replied with significant apprehension:

> The English manuscript sent to me earlier by Mr. Wang Zhiwei might be an unfinished manuscript on Chinese intellectual history and it is different from Hu's lecture notes. This unfinished manuscript still requires a lot of amendments, notes and updates. But ten years ago when I just recovered from a serious illness, and I had no energy to finish it, so I asked Professor Yu Ying-Shih to handle it. But given the current academic conditions, it takes a lot of discretion to find a way to get the best out of Hu's works. I am afraid it probably will even compromise Dr. Hu's academic reputation if we take an easy option here and just publish this manuscript as it is. This matter must be handled prudently.[7]

So, until as late as 1986, there was still no one to finish collecting and editing Hu Shih's English writings.

Before Yang, the first person who had a vision to collect Hu Shih's English writings was an American, Mr. Eugene Livingston Delafield. He died in Florida on April 6, 2001, at the age of 96. Delafield initially met Hu Shih in the 1940s when they were living in the same apartment complex, located at 104 E, 81 Street in New York City. Delafield worked as a rare books dealer then, and he often purchased books for Hu. The two men struck up a friendship throughout the years based upon mutual respect. Their close relationship lasted until 1958 when Hu returned to Taiwan. Occasionally, Hu would also ask Delafield to help him gather some research materials. On October 1, 1950, Hu gave an article to Delafield as a gift. On the cover he wrote: "To Eugene Delafield, who has been very helpful to me in obtaining the materials I needed in writing this essay. Hu Shih, Oct. 1950." Gradually, Delafield was extremely impressed by Hu's integrity and erudition and arrived at the intention to compile a collection of Hu's English writings. This idea got Hu's approval. Then, starting from the 1940s, Delafield started collecting Hu's articles published in various English language books, journals, and newspapers. According to Delafield's account, Hu would often give him copies of speeches that he presented at conferences and other occasions. After decades of continuous effort, Delafield gathered a significant amount of Hu Shih's speeches and a few manuscripts. In order to further understand Hu Shih's thought, Delafield expanded his own knowledge by purchasing and reading a large number of English books related to Hu Shih's work.

In 1957, Delafield and the famous late Chinese librarian Yuan Tongli co-edited *Selected Bibliography of Dr. Hu Shih's Writings in Western Languages*, which was published in the 28th volume of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Phonology and History, "Academia Sinica*." This bibliography was an indispensable reference for compiling Hu Shih's English writings.

[7] The original letter is kept in Hu Shih Memorial Hall, Taiwan.

In 1993, while compiling the Collection of Hu Shih's English writings, I had contacted Delafield by telephone. On September 20, 1996, I met him for the first time at my office in Princeton University. I gave him a set of the three-volume *Collection of Hu Shih's English Writings* (Taipei Yuan-Liou, 1995) that I edited as a gift. On May 27, 1998, he wrote me a registered letter in which he kindly expressed his desire for me to take care of his collection of Hu Shih's works. Part of the speeches included in *A Collection of Hu Shih's Unpublished English Essays and Speeches* (Taipei Linking, 2001) were provided by Mr. Delafield.

During the Christmas holiday season of 1998, I went to Florida to visit Mr. and Mrs. Delafield and to express my profound gratitude for their generosity. I spent one afternoon in their apartment carefully listening to his recollections of how he met Hu Shih, the erudite and hardworking scholar who also possessed a great sense of humor. I was deeply moved by the extreme effort, sincerity, and painstaking work he had put into collecting Hu Shih's writings, all of which were evident as he showed me each of Hu's original, autographed manuscripts. Hu Shih's pictures had also been neatly arranged next to the three-volume *Collection of Hu Shih's English Writings* that I had presented to him. Delafield devoted so much to collecting Hu Shih's English works; all those who have studied Hu Shih's thought should salute his efforts.

Hu Shih's English articles were scattered in various university journals and magazines. The first published collection of his works was the photo-engraved copy of *A Collection of Hu Shih's English Writings* (three volumes and 1,589 pages altogether) edited by me and published by Taipei Yuan-Liou in 1995. This edition has been out of print for years and copies are very difficult to find now. Articles included in this collection were photocopies of journal and magazine pages; some were already blurry and illegible. In 2001, Taipei Linking Press published *A Collection of Hu Shih's Unpublished English Essays and Speeches*, which was 677 pages long compiled by me. At that point, the collection and compilation of Hu Shih's English writings had essentially reached completion. When Anhui Education Press published *Complete Works of Hu Shih*, they also relied on these two titles as English resources.

In memory of the 120th anniversary of Hu Shih's birth in 2012, Mr. Wu Hao from the Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press in Beijing proposed to select and re-edit the best of Hu Shih's English articles and to publish them under three themes: "Chinese Literature and Society," "Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History," and "National Crisis and Public Diplomacy." This three-volume collection differs from the previous editions in that it aims to represent the gist of Hu Shih's academic thoughts rather than providing a comprehensive collection. Hence, only the most important and most representative pieces of Hu Shih's are included in this collection.

It should be noted that traces of historical backgrounds and social contexts at the time of composition could be found in details of the works, such as dynasty appellations, national relationship descriptions, and the use of Wade-Giles Romanization. These are kept intact to present the original style of his work. Because the collected articles were written and published at different times, they may not be completely consistent with each other in format and style (or even spelling of certain words).

2012 is also the 50th anniversary of the death of Hu Shih. I hope that the publication of this three-volume collection of Hu Shih's English writings will, to a certain extent, contribute to enhancing and popularizing the research of Hu Shih's scholarship and his thought. This short article is to commemorate the formation of this collection.

Princeton University Chih-P'ing Chou
17 January 2012

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Chapter 1
Intellectual China in 1919

I

In the whole modern history of China the year 1919 certainly deserves the name *annus mirabilis*. The long series of memorable events beginning with the Fourth of May and ending in the teachers' strike during the last weeks of the year, are too well known to require mentioning here. But the real miracle of the year seems to be the marked change in the thoughts and ideas of the nation. So rapid indeed has been the spread of the intellectual transformation that it even astounded those who have entertained the wildest expectations for its final triumph.

When the year 1919 was ushered in, there was only a small group of men working in the new intellectual movement. Our monthly organ, *La Jeunesse* (新青年) had just reached its 30th issue; the University students had just published the second number of *The Renaissance* (新潮); and our *Weekly Review* (每周评论) had only had three weeks' existence. The laborers were few indeed. But there were already signs of encouragement. Two daily papers in Peking, *The Kuo Ming Kung Pao* (国民公报) and *The Morning Post* (晨报) which had been organs of the more intellectual wing of the Chingputang were beginning to throw open their columns to the new literary and intellectual movement and have ever since been the two powerful centers of liberal opinion in North China.

Early in the year, oppositions from conservative quarters began to take shape and men like Mr. Lin Shu openly attacked the "literary revolutionaries" in violent and abusive language. The National University of Peking became the center of bombardment. In March the Anfu members in the Senate were talking about impeaching the Minister of Education and the Chancellor of the University for allowing perverters of opinion and corrupters of youth to remain in the highest educational institution

Chapter Note: The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Dec., 1919. Vol. 4. No. 4. pp. 345–355.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_1, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

of the nation. The wave of reaction grew so strong that the Ministry of Education was forced to send a letter of censure to the editors of The Renaissance, and Mr. Chen Tu-hsiu, an editor of *La Jeunesse*, at the time Dean of the College of Letters in the University, found it necessary to leave the University in order to save it from the bombardment of its enemies.

At the height of the controversy Chancellor Tsai Yuanpei of the National University issued on March 18th his famous reply to Mr. Lin Shu in which he defended the several professors whose radical views on literature and morals had become objects of grave concern to the conservatives. It was more than a defence. For he also declared that the university under his administration must stand for the principles of impartiality, toleration and intellectual freedom. This letter was widely quoted and will always remain one of the historical documents of the Chinese Intellectual Revolution.

While the reaction was unavoidable, it was not without its beneficial results. Aside from the amount of free advertising the new movement received from its opponents, controversies virtually helped to define the issues in dispute and gave the liberals an opportunity to clarify and develop their standpoints. Moreover, throughout the whole controversy the opposition revealed an intolerant and abusive attitude and utter emptiness in argument which gradually alienated much public sympathy and drove many a moderate to the other side of the fence. "I know," said Mr. Lin Shu, "that the ancient literary form of writing should not be abolished, but I cannot tell why!"

The attack on the University had hardly subsided when the news of the Shantung settlement reached China. Young China's faith in Wilsonian idealism was shattered to dust. "The New World-order" was no more! This disillusionment was followed by a conviction: China must not rely upon the wishes of other nations for settling our own affairs. The May Fourth episode was an outcome of this conviction. The subsequent events need not be mentioned here. Suffice to say that the success of the student movement made the National University very popular throughout the country. The University immediately arose to be the recognized center of intellectual leadership and a source of new national inspirations. Public opinion as well as the Anfu Club insists upon attributing the credit of the student movement to the liberal doctrines advocated by several of the University professors. Undoubtedly this attribution was by far too generous. Nevertheless with the increasing popularity of the National University, the one time unpopular advocacies of its professors and their friends have begun to spread with a rapidity and fecundity for exceeding their most ambitious expectations.

The journalistic world soon underwent a remarkable change. The year 1918 witnessed *La Jeunesse* fighting almost alone for the new literary and intellectual movement. But shortly after June, 1919, there have sprung up in all parts of China numerous periodicals edited in most cases by young students who have caught the new spirit. Most of them are weeklies modeled after our *Weekly Review* which was suppressed by the Peking Government in August. Practically all of these new publications are written in the spoken language. It has been estimated that the number of such periodicals has now exceeded 400, and according to the *Sunday Review* of

Shanghai, there are over 200 new periodicals in the two provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang alone. In Changsha, Hunan, there were at one time ten weeklies of radical thinking and fearless expression. And that under the military rule of General Chang Ching-yao too!

The resistless advance of the newer literature has forced the old daily newspapers to undergo radical changes. A number of important dailies in Shanghai and Peking, notably the *Morning Post*, the *Kuo Ming Kung Pao*, (now suppressed), the *Shih Shih Hsin Pao* (时事新报) and the *Ming Kuo Jih Pao* (民国日报), have allied themselves with the new movements. Not only are their editorials written in the spoken language, but the more important news correspondences are also written in it. The most significant change, however, has come in the "supplement" page of the majority of the dailies. A year ago, the daily supplements were devoted to fanciful and largely imagined news of actors and actresses and of singsong girls. But during the last year these pages have practically all been occupied by reports of educational and philosophical lectures and translations of short stories by modern writers like Tchekov Gorky, Maupassant, Strindberg, and others. Even the conservative and partisan papers have found it profitable to reproduce in their columns a few articles by liberal writers.

II

The most conspicuous achievement of the year 1919 has been the triumph of vulgate Chinese (*pei hua*) as the recognized instrument for journalistic and literary composition as well as for popular education. When the National Educational Association met 2 years ago, a motion to adopt the spoken tongue for writing text-books in all primary schools was dismissed without serious discussion. When the same association held its fourth annual convention in 1918, a similar motion came up and was reluctantly referred to the next convention as the last item of unfinished business. But when the fifth annual convention of the N. E. A. opened last October, it found that six provincial delegations had simultaneously presented resolutions urging the adoption of the spoken language for elementary education. These resolutions were wrought into one general motion, the most important section of which requires all text-books in the primary schools and part of those in the higher primary schools to be written in the spoken language. This resolution which even in its much more moderate form had been rejected 2 years ago, now passed the convention without a dissenting vote. And in January, 1920, the Ministry of Education officially proclaimed that beginning with this autumn, the spoken language shall be used in teaching Chinese in the first 2 years of the primary schools.

This story well illustrates the great change in the general attitude towards the vulgate tongue during the last 2 years. Vulgate writing, especially vulgate poetry, was regarded with contempt and ridicule, even as late as the spring of 1919. Its practice was almost entirely confined to the small group of University professors and their friends. But shortly after June, there suddenly arose a host of youthful writers who found in this new language the instrument for effective propaganda

work and for honest literary expression. The art of writing had long been considered a rare gift of the gods to the favored few. But the advocacy of the *pei hua* has emancipated the youths from this timidity which was the result of the unnatural letters of an antiquated literary formalism. The spirit of Young China was never at ease in its ancient garments. And with the emancipation of the literary form, there has burst forth the youthful spirit in full blossom which certainly gladdens the heart of every kindly spectator.

The result has been that the taboo of a year ago has become a fashion of the day; and from Peking to Canton, from Shanghai to Chengtu, there is hardly one educational center which has not at least one vulgate paper of its own. Never before has China had so many new writers; never before have there been so many attempts made at literary experiment and creation. A truly representative literature of China is still to come, but the *pei hua* as the literary medium par excellence both for press and poetry is now a recognized fact, and no amount of opposition or suppression can ever hope to destroy it again.

III

Space does not permit me to enumerate the specific details of the recent intellectual changes in China. Nor is it possible for us now to pass hasty judgments on their merits and demerits. What we can do at best is to give in bold outline the main tendencies which are clear and unmistakable to any careful observer of the newer movements. As I see it, there are three such tendencies: first, a movement towards democracy; second, a movement for educational reform; and lastly, a change in the general intellectual attitude.

In the first place, there has been a better understanding of the meaning of democracy. Eight years of bitter failure under a nominal republic has gradually brought Young China to the realization that democracy cannot be secured through political changes alone; and that no democratic government can ever be founded upon a citizenry brought up in the atmosphere of a semi-patriarchal family system, imbued with antiquated ideas and ideals, and working in a social arrangement where the individual, even the male individual, receives no proper recognition as such. Democracy, in short, is no more and no less than the sum-total of all the democratized and democratizing forces, social, economic, moral and intellectual. It is this realization which constitutes one of the guiding principles of the new movements in China.

Ever since 1898, the attention of intellectual China has been confined to things political. Its protagonists worked for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty,[1] and it was overthrown; they wanted a republic, and the Chinese Republic was proclaimed to the world; they wanted representative government, and they have had parliaments and provincial assemblies; they tried political parties, and parties they have had, even to the present day. They had staked all their hopes on the political at the expense of neglecting the non-political. They were bound to be disappointed, and great indeed was the disappointment!

Then the events of 1919 gave us a new lesson. It was the non-political forces,—the students, the merchants, the demonstrations and street orations and the boycott,—that did the work and triumphed. This was a great revelation and produced a new optimism. As despair naturally results from one's coming up against some closed and blocked way of action, so hope and courage are engendered with the opening up of new and fresh channels of fruitful activities. Young China now finds enough to do. Let alone the Anfu Club; let alone the internal peace conference at Shanghai; let alone the petty political intrigues in Peking and elsewhere,—we still have the masses to educate, the women to emancipate, the schools to reform, the home industries to develop, the family system to reshape, the dead and antiquated ideas to combat, the false and harmful idols to dethrone, the many, many social and economic wrongs to redress. It is in these new channels of activity that Young China, with reawakened hope and vigor, is now working slowly but steadily to rebuild a new foundation for Chinese democracy.

In the second place, the new movement has brought about a new beginning in educational reform. The theoretical interest in this educational movement has been inspired chiefly by the visit of Professor John Dewey. Dr. Dewey landed on Chinese soil 4 days before the memorable Fourth of May, and has since lectured in Shanghai, Hangchow, Nanking, Peking, Tientsin, Mukden,[2] Shansi and Shantung. Several "Dewey Numbers" have been published by the newer magazines to introduce his philosophy to the Chinese public, and his Peking lectures have been reproduced everywhere throughout the country. His emphasis on the child's natural powers, on self-activity, and on the social aim of education has set many a Chinese educator to serious thinking and surely will effect significant changes in the years to come. His advocacy of the experimental method in education has shattered our belief in a rigid and uniform educational system, and challenges us to carry on innovations and experiments without which an educational system is lifeless.

The practical side of this new educational movement has come from the events of the year. The student movement with its organized efforts, its popular lectures, its interference with "cheap" goods, and its struggle with the constituted authorities, was itself a new education. The organization of students' unions was still more significant. They are organizations of young men and women, not for athletic or gladiatorial exhibitions, but for a serious and noble purpose. There can be no doubt that the associated life and organized activities of these unions will go very far towards training leadership and co-operation.

The necessity of popular support in a great movement like this made it imperative to educate the masses. Hence the various popular lecture forums, night and half-day schools, and industrial schools for poor boys and girls. The educative value of such activities cannot be over estimated. The sudden appearance of a large number of local periodicals, too, forms an important part in this movement for popular education. For the first time in history, the small communities which had long been accustomed to take its intellectual supply from the metropolitan centers, have now begun to provide themselves with organs of public opinion and useful intelligence. When the first volleys of sentimental fire are over, they will have to settle down to business, to investigate into the conditions of their own localities and to solve the

problems concerning their own civic interest and welfare. This, too, is an education of no mean worth.

In the third place, there has been a great change in the general mental attitude. It has been justly said that the greatest obstacle to progress in China is the deductive habit of mind; that is, the willingness to accept things on authority, to acquiesce in ideas and ideals without questioning whence they are derived and whether they are true or not. A quotation from the Classics is sufficient argument for a national policy, and a spurious saying of Confucius is good enough to justify the existence of any obsolete custom or institution. This habit is the most formidable enemy to innovation and progress. Its best antidote is found in the scientific attitude which seeks to find out truth for one's self and refuses to believe in anything without sufficient evidence of its credibility. It seems that this scientific spirit is beginning to make itself felt in the Chinese intellectual world to-day. It first shows itself in the attitude of doubt. The question "why?" is heard everywhere. Why should we believe in this or that idea? Why should this or that institution still exist to-day?

Doubt rarely is purely negative. It leads to inquiries which in most cases lead in turn to positive reconstructions. We find, for example, many Confucian doctrines severely criticized, but we also find that Confucianism was never so intelligently studied as it is to-day. We find filial piety seriously questioned, but we again find that the relation between parents and children has never before been so rationally discussed as it is now.

This critical attitude cuts through almost every phase of Chinese life. Nietzsche has said that the modern age is an age of transvaluation of all values. Truly we are to-day transvaluating all our values, literary, social, intellectual and moral. A glance at the numerous problems raised during the last 2 years,—problems of Confucianism, the Chinese language and literature, the position of women, the double standard of sensual morality, the reform of the theatre, the right of women to inheritance and heirship, the reform of the schools, and so forth,—a glance at these will reveal the extent of this process of transvaluation. The new intellectual movement originated in concrete problems and its success so far has mainly consisted in having forced public attention to face problems where none had been suspected to exist. We have not been able to solve all the problems raised; but the mere unearthing of a problem and the discussions subsequent thereto are important steps pointing to its solution.

The spirit of doubt and criticism does not spring up of itself. It is always the outcome of a new vision and a new point of view. There must be sufficient data for comparison and reflection before the mind is freed from the shackles of the old standpoint which had long been taken for granted. Men who have acquired new standpoints either directly or indirectly from the West, have been applying them to Chinese ideas and institutions. Such comparisons, if honestly made, rarely fail to arouse doubts. Thus one by one have arisen the various problems which have featured in hundreds of the new periodicals. And if we keep this in mind, we shall be in a better position to understand the motives behind the apparent eager though desultory reproduction of the new and radical thought-currents of contemporary Europe and America. The Dewey Numbers, the Ibsen Number, the Marx Number, the New Thought Number; the series of studies on direct government in

The Construction (建设), those on the different phases of socialism in *The Emancipation and Reconstruction* (解放与改造), and those on divers types of radical thought in *La Jeunesse, The Renaissance*, and other periodicals:—all this has not been done merely to keep pace with the fashion of the world, but largely to furnish the nation with sufficient material for comparison and suggestion in dealing with our own problems.

This new mental attitude, this willingness to look facts in the face and this boldness to raise unpleasant and unwelcome questions,—this I consider the greatest contribution of the new movements the spread of which constitutes one of the most significant events of the last year. Progress and reform have never come *en bloc*, but always piecemeal. It is the solution of specific problems, and the transformation of specific ideas and institutions that constitute progress. And it is the critical and problem-loving habit of mind which is the only road leading to this piecemeal progress,—the only progress possible.

Chapter 2
Buddhist Influence on Chinese Religious Life

This is a part of a lecture on 'Buddhistic Influence on Chinese Thought' delivered before the November meeting of the Peking Historical Association. The lecture was divided into three parts: Literature, Religion, and Philosophy. At the urgent request of the Editor of the Review, the second part of this lecture is here published as it was read. I hope that I may be able to revise the other parts before they appear in this Review. —S. H.

I

In Smith's "Proverbs and Common Sayings from the Chinese" (Shanghai, 1914, new and revised edition), there is the proverb: "家家观世音 处处弥陀佛" ("Avalokitesvara in every family, and Amitabhas everywhere.") This proverb best describes the extent of the Buddhist influence on the religious life of the Chinese people. The feminine figure of transformed Avalokitesvara, the Chinese Madonna, symbolizing that ever-present mercy to which every man, woman and child may appeal for help in times of distress; and the name of Amitabhas, symbolizing hope and salvation through sheer faith, which is attainable by everybody however humble in station and however deficient in intelligence—these two are certainly the most universal objects of worship throughout the empire and throughout the ages, testifying to the complete triumph of the Buddhistic conquest of China.

The story of the Buddhist conquest of China is too well known to need retelling here. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a consideration of the historical position of Buddhism in the history of the religious life of the Chinese nation.

Prior to the entrance of Buddhism, China had never been under the influence of any powerful religion. The ancient Chinese had a crude polytheistic religion which

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Chapter Note: The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Jan., 1925. Vol. 9. pp. 142–150.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_2, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

worshipped the heaven together with the various natural forces, such as the sun, the moon, the mountains and the rivers. Ancestors were worshipped and divination was practised. Sacrifices were made to the gods and spirits largely for the purpose of asking favors or averting disasters. With the dawn of the age of philosophers in the sixth century B.C., the popular religion gradually lost ground and was undermined by the naturalism of Lao Tze, on the one hand, and by the agnosticism of Confucius on the other. Mo-Ti, who was religiously inclined, arose to champion the cause of the popular religion which he sought to rationalize and purify. He taught reverence for the will of God, belief in the existence of the spirits, and an unlimited love for all mankind. Moism as a philosophical school soon died out. But Moism as a purified form of popular religion continued to exert its influence throughout the later ages. When Confucianism was established as a state religion in the second century B.C., it was not the agnostic Confucianism that was established, but the theistic Moism in Confucianist disguise. And when Taoism as a religion arose in the second century A.D., it was no longer the naturalism and atheism of Lao Tze and Chuang Tze, but the theistic Moism together with a thousand of the superstitious features of the religion of the common people.

When Buddhism came to China, it found two religions of native origin. The Confucianism of Han was chiefly ethical and political: the Confucianists exalted the conception of a teleological Heaven as a higher authority which would watch over and reward or punish the acts of the rulers on earth. The history of the Two Han dynasties is full of ideas and practices connected with this politico-religious conception of Heaven. The Taoist religion, which flourished among the people, was a polytheistic religion with a priesthood whose business it was to practise magic and to attend to the physical wants of their followers. Neither Confucianism nor Taoism ever maintained the importance of personal salvation. Even the most esoteric school of Taosim which sought freedom in retirement and meditation had no notion of salvation through faith or through observance of religious rites.

Buddhism was a religion of salvation. To the intellectuals, it taught the philosophy of vacuity, of negation, of freedom through enlightenment. To the masses, it taught the doctrine of Karma, of transmigration, of the effects of good deeds in this and the future life. And to the upper and lower classes alike, it taught the wonderful doctrine of Paradise (净土), the doctrine that absolute faith in the existence of Paradise and in its god, the Amitabhas, will ultimately lead us to attain that blissful end—salvation.

All this was new to the Chinese mind. The idea of transmigration of existence was never known to the ancient Chinese who only believed in the existence of spirits or ghosts. The doctrine of Karma, too, was unknown. The ancient Chinese dimly believed that somehow evil deeds would lead to disasters while good conduct to good results (易经: “积善之家必有余庆,积不善之家必有余殃”). But they never had the notion that there was an iron law of causation under which every action necessarily produces its effect and that this law extends throughout all stages of existences.

Both the Confucianists and Taoists were fatalists, believing in pre-determination (命). Naturally the note of pessimism is apparent in the teachings of these two schools, especially in the *Chuang-Tze* and the *Lieh-Tze*. Even Confucius often resigned himself to the dictates of Fate. But Buddhism, which teaches the law of

Karma, also teaches the possibility of creating new causes through human endeavor. Faith and good endeavor will win salvation. Here is then a new note of optimism which broke down the fatalism of both Confucianism and Taoism, and which gave new life to the religious experience of the people.

An autobiographic story of a moral leader of the sixteenth century will illustrate my point more clearly. Yuan Huang (袁黄), better known as Yuan Liao-fan (袁了凡), describes how he became a fatalist through a Taoist fortune-teller who told his fortune in its minute details most of which turned out to be true to the letter. For instance, the fortune-teller predicted that during his term of "Pensioned Scholarship" (廪生) his accumulated pension would amount to 91 piculs (石) and five pecks (斗) of rice. And the prediction came true to the fraction of the total amount. He was so convinced of the truth of pre-determination that he became completely resigned to the play of Fate. Then he met a famous

Buddhist monk named Fa Hui (法会) who tried to arouse him from his fatalism. Fa Hui argued that to a Buddhist, "Fate is created by one's self, and happiness is obtained through one's own seeking." After a long discussion the Buddhist monk concluded with this remark which has since become proverbial: "Let all past die with yesterday, and let all future be born with today! That is resurrection through reason!" Yuan Huang was greatly moved by this doctrine and resolved to carry it into practice. He repented all his past sins before the image of Buddha, and resolved to achieve 3,000 good deeds as a price for an advanced literary degree which his fortune-teller had denied him. And he won the coveted honor when his good deeds had been completed. His fortune-teller had predicted that he would have no son. So he resolved to win a son by offering another 3,000 good deeds. And the endeavor was rewarded.

This story may sound ridiculous to the modern readers. But it illustrates most strikingly the life outlook of Buddhism as distinct from those of the other Chinese religions.

II

Modern scholars tend to hold that Buddhism denies the existence of the soul. That is quite true of the scholasticism of the Hinayana schools. But it was certainly as a religion emphasizing the immortality of the soul that Buddhism was welcomed in China. The ancient Chinese believed in the existence of ghosts and spirits, but they never attached much spiritual significance to that idea, nor did they reason out that idea in all its logical implications. Confucius took an agnostic attitude towards the spirits, while the Confucianists immediately after him boldly denied the existence of spirits altogether. The Moists defended the old belief in the spirits. And this idea continued to exist among the people. But the ancients never seriously thought of the idea of the indestructibility or immortality of life after death as an important concept or religious belief. A contemporary of Confucius maintained that there were three kinds of immortality: immortality of Words, of Works, and of Worth

(立言,立功,立德). But he completely ignored the immortality of what is called the soul.

It was Buddhism which brought home to the Chinese the idea of the indestructibility of the soul. All beliefs in Paradise, in the punishments in Hell, and in the possibility of a better or worse existence in the future, are based on this fundamental belief. Destroy this belief in the permanence of the soul, and all the important beliefs and practices of Mahayana Buddhism are left without a foundation. In the long history of Buddhism in China, we see this notion more than once assailed by opponents and defended by Buddhists. For instance, about the year 500 A.D. a great Chinese scholar named Fan Chên (范缜) wrote an essay on the Destructibility of the Soul (神灭论), in which he holds that "the relation between the body and the soul is like the relation between the knife and its sharpness. We never hear of the existence of sharpness after the destruction of the knife; how is it possible for the soul to exist when the body has decayed?" This powerful argument of frank materialism so alarmed the Buddhists of the day that more than 70 answers were written to refute Fan Chên's essay; even the Emperor Wu Ti of Liang issued an edict to condemn it. The best refutation written by Shen Yo (沈约) was to the effect that "the knife of yesterday may be forged into the dagger of today; the sharpness of the dagger is the same sharpness of the knife, while the body of the knife is no longer discernible in the body of the dagger. The quality of sharpness remains unchanged, although the form of the body has been transformed. The same is true of the transmigration of the soul of A in becoming the soul of B. The existences differ, but the soul of the past existence has been transmitted into the present." (广弘明集, 22)

The great statesman Ssu-ma Kwang (司马光, 1019–1086), who was influenced by Fan Chên, revived the old materialistic argument in his refutation of the belief in tortures applied to wicked men after death in Hell. He said: "When the body has decayed, the spirit fades away also. Even though there be such tortures, whereupon can they be applied?"

From these controversies, we can see how important the idea of the immortality of the soul has been to the religious belief of Buddhism. Thousands of tales were written and printed which told of wicked men and women who after death were subjected to all kinds of cruel tortures in Hell. Equally large is the number of tales of virtuous men and women who after death were allowed to pass to the heavens where they were to enjoy the life of complete bliss. Other tales were invented which traced the successive stages of existence of individuals who attained better or worse future existences according to their respective merits. Such beliefs exist even today and may be found in some of the circular telegrams issued by some politicians in connection with the recent *coup d'état*.

III

The introduction of Buddhism undoubtedly brought about a tremendous change in the religious life of the Chinese nation. A practical and matter-of-fact race was gradually worked up to religious enthusiasm, even to religious fanaticism.

Temples and stupas were built everywhere; men and women deserted their families to become monks and nuns. The monumental stone sculptures at Ta Tung (大同) and Lung Men (龙门) testify to this day to the height of zeal of the Buddhistic age.

With this sudden outburst of religious enthusiasm, there also came the worst features of Mahayana Buddhism. Extreme forms of asceticism and self-torture were commonly practised. We may remember that one of the chapters of the *Saddharma Pundarika* (妙法莲华经, chapter 23) contains the idea that the most effective kind of sacrifice is the sacrifice of one's own body. The hero of that chapter (药王菩萨) therefore perfumed his whole body, anointed it with fragrant oil, soaked all clothing in oil, and finally burned himself as a sacrifice to Buddha. *The Saddharma Pundarika* was exceedingly popular, and the idea of bodily sacrifice was soon taken up by the fanatical monks. The Confucianist philosopher Hu Yin (胡寅) recorded a number of such cases in his anti-Buddhistic treatise (崇正辩). The monk Hui Shao (惠绍) resolved to imitate the Yowang Pu-sa and burned his own body. Another monk, Sêng Yu (僧瑜), collected dry faggots into a shrine, seated himself in it, and set fire to it while loudly reciting the Yowang chapter in the *Saddharma Pundarika*. Another monk Pao Yê (宝) bound his fingers with oiled cloth and set fire to them. When asked if he felt the pain, he answered "Pain arises from the mind; and when the mind feels no pain, how can the fingers feel pain?" After this trial he piled up dry wood in his storeyed house, coated the walls of his room with oil and, holding a torch with his fingerless arm, set fire to the room. He was seen performing the ritual of reverent worship amidst the choking smoke. His face and body caught fire after the second worshipping. Still he continued his ritual, and fell dead upon the burning charcoal!

IV

The new religion of Buddhism came to China with irresistible force. Persecution after persecution failed, and Buddhism continued to be the most powerful religion of China. Confucianism was no longer considered as a religion, but as a system of practical ethical and political principles. Buddhism being an ultra-mundane religion, it was necessary to leave the state affairs to the hands of officials trained in the ethico-political philosophy of Confucianism. The only rival religion with which Buddhism often came into conflict was the newly-arisen Taoism. Many of the great persecutions of Buddhism were brought about by the Taoists. Yet the undeniable influence of Buddhism may be seen in every stage of the development of Taoism as a popular religion. Indeed, Taoism may even be described as a religious product of Chinese nationalism—a child which was born in the days of Buddhist triumph and nurtured in the atmosphere of Buddhism, but which grew up with a determination to battle its alien tutor and rival with his own weapons.

Taoism had been a religion of asceticism and magic, but with no organization nor commonly recognized scriptures. Under the influence of the Buddhistic Church organization and Buddhistic Tripitaka, the Taoists began to organize themselves into a church with priests as officials, and to produce a large number of Taoist

scriptures. The greatest organizer of Taoism was K'ou Ch'ien-chih (寇谦之, 448 A.D.) who, under the patronage of Emperor Shiao Wu of North Wei, established the first Taoist church in Ta Tung. The church began with a priesthood of 120 and had its rules regulating the daily and monthly rituals of worship and fasting. This was the first time that ascetic Taoism of the mountains and grottoes suddenly became the established state religion of metropolitan life.

The Taoist scriptures were largely imitations after the Buddhist sutras. The work of imitation began as early as the year 300 A.D. when a Taoist wrote the *Sutras of Lao Tze's Conversion of India* (老子化胡经). The attempt was to make Buddhism a form of Taoism, and Buddha a convert of Lao Tze. The fact that Chinese Buddhists persisted in dating the birth of Buddha in the tenth century B.C., instead of a later date, was chiefly due to the desire on the part of Chinese Buddhists to make Buddha as old as possible in order to avoid the possibility of his being converted by Lao Tze into Taoism! As we glance over the several 100 titles in the Taoist Canon now being published by the Commercial Press, we cannot fail to perceive the shameless work of imitation and forgery that has produced this vast amount of parrot-like nonsense! Even the form and style of the Buddhist sutras are retained in many of these Taoist texts. I quote the following opening passage from the *Sutra of Sixteen Books* (十六品经):

> At that time the Supreme Jade Emperor was in the Lin Shiao Palace of the Tou Su Heaven (that is, the Tushita Heaven of Buddhism). Together with the Sacred Mother of Yao Chih, he was preaching the Precious Truth (Saddharma) of the Great Beginning, the Grand Mean, and the Universal Salvation. Among those present were the Five Grand Old Emperors, and the Immortals of the Ten Continents, the Three Islands, the Five Sacred Mountains, the Four Lakes, and the Three Worlds. All were listening to the Precious Truth. At that time, the Emperor of the Eastern Sacred Mountain arose from the rank and said:—

Chapter 3
The Renaissance in China

Address given on November 9, 1926.

It is a great honour to me to be invited to speak at Chatham House, which, I am told, was the residence of three Prime Ministers of England, and to address the Royal Institute of International Affairs, an Institution devoted to the study of problems affecting the intercourse and interdependence of nations.

I feel a message and a mission for those Chinese and British lecturers who are to bear the responsibility of bringing the two nations together, introducing them to each other—China to the West and Great Britain to the East. It is to be regretted that Great Britain, which has been in contact with China longer than any other nation in the West, should have fallen behind some others of our neighbours in intimate intellectual relationship. It is difficult to explain the reason, but there is certainly no such close intellectual link between Great Britain and China as exists between China and America. We shall hope that the proposed exchange of lecturers, in which I am happy to have been chosen as one of the first workers, will bear fruit in creating a truer and fuller knowledge of our civilisation and our common interests.

The subject chosen for me to-night is the "Chinese Renaissance." Such a title may sound a little conceited, especially from the lips of one who has taken a personal part in this new movement. The Renaissance is, of course, the term usually associated with that great movement in Western history which heralded modern Europe. The same name has been accorded to the far-reaching changes in thought and action which have swept over China during the last 10 years, and for the sake of convenience I will use that name and try to tell you something of the movement for which it stands.

Chapter Note: Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1926. Vol. V. pp. 265–283.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_3, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

The Chinese Renaissance movement represents a new stage in the process of modernising our country and our people, anxd in that process three stages have already been manifested. The first may be described as the mechanical stage—the introduction of mechanical implements, of battleships, guns and steamships. The second was the stage of political reform. Then came the third stage, the movement of which I am to speak to-night.

In the last 100 years, the period of our close contact with the West, China has shown an unfortunate resistance to the new form of civilisation which has been knocking at our door. We resisted for a 100 years, and started our effort to modernise almost at the point of the bayonet. Perhaps it is hardly to be wondered that our first efforts lay in the direction of mechanical devices.

Our mechanical experience started in 1850 with the weapons of war introduced during the Taiping Rebellion, which swept over the country like a cyclone and devastated almost half the provinces of China. The old army was powerless largely because it had been demoralised and weakened by opium smoking. There arose in the province of Hunan certain Chinese leaders of high courage and character who tried to organise a volunteer army and a volunteer navy. In the course of a few years they recovered from the rebels a number of cities and provinces; but even this new army, this volunteer army, proved quite inadequate in equipment and organisation for its great task.

Then one of these leaders, Li Hung-chang, realised that assistance could be secured from the West in the form of munitions, of organisation and of leadership. In the Lower Yangtse territory a new army was organised, equipped with modern arms and trained under modern Western military officers, among whom was General Gordon. This new force, which soon acquired the name of the "Ever-Victorious Army," recovered practically all the provinces in the Lower Yangtse Valley, and finally besieged and recaptured Nanking, the seat of the rebellion. This event brought home to the Chinese in a practical way the superiority of certain phases of Western civilisation. The introduction of modern armaments paved the way for a general reorganisation of the Chinese navy and of part of the Chinese army. Arsenals were erected and a big dockyard was established.

But in all these innovations, these attempts to introduce Western ways, there was no attempt and indeed no desire on the part of the Chinese to understand the basic ideas underlying the civilisation which had produced these wonderful new weapons of war and the new methods of commerce which became conspicuous at about the same time. There was not even a desire to understand the language of the foreigners. When at last a School of Languages was established by order of the Government, even the sons of the men who had originated the idea refused to enter the new school, and scholars had to be recruited from poor families who were attracted by a small monthly gratuity. There was no desire on the part of the Chinese Government or people to train leaders for a new and more modern form of civilisation in China. Their activities were confined to the training of young boys in the mastery of a foreign language, in order that they might become interpreters to the great Mandarins.

Throughout this first stage indeed, this stage of mechanical experiment, there was no attempt to understand or to introduce those finer elements which constitute

the genius of Western civilisation. There was, it is true, some attempt to translate scientific text-books with the help of foreign missionaries, but the whole tone of the age was represented by the demand for only two things from the West—wealth and power. In the newspapers and publications of the last generation these two factors stand out as the sole requirements of the first reformers.

But we soon began to realise that it would be impossible to achieve even those desired objects of wealth and power without political reorganisation. The wars of 1860, of 1884 and of 1885, and the war with Japan in 1894, demonstrated that the introduction of modern weapons of war and of commerce, unaccompanied by the transformation of outworn political machinery, was not sufficient to save China. The new navy, which had cost China vast fortunes, was swept away during the Sino-Japanese War in the final decade of the last century. And at last the more far-seeing of our leaders began to realise and to preach the need for a thorough reorganisation of our political machinery. China thus entered the second stage in the process of her modernisation—the stage of political reform.

The drama of Chinese political reform divides itself into four acts. Act I, to make a long story short, was the reform of 1898, based on a programme of the Manchu Emperor Kwang-Hsu, who was convinced that China needed certain basic reforms if she was to retain her independence. When he came into power he called to his service a number of the more radical leaders of the time and, in the course of a few months, proclaimed a series of drastic reforms. But this movement was short-lived. The forces of reaction soon gathered together and rallied round the person of the Empress-Dowager. The reforms were swept away, the Emperor was imprisoned by the Dowager and six of the reformers were executed.

China then entered on the second Act of this political drama, which consisted of reaction and culminated in the appalling tragedy of the Boxer Rising of 1900. That episode so disgraced the nation that for many years China was not considered a respectable member of the Family of Nations. But the humiliation which China suffered in those days was sufficient to convince the people that political reform could no longer be neglected, and even the reactionary Court of the Manchus was persuaded to proclaim a few important reforms during the years from 1901 to 1910. When the Russo-Japanese War was being fought on Chinese soil in 1904–1905, the Chinese had a striking illustration of the efficacy of modernisation. A small nation of the East defeated Russia, one of the greatest Powers of Europe, and modern organisation was recognised as the cause of her success. Thousands of students accordingly flocked to Japan, hoping to discover the means for a second and similar miracle. The Government was compelled to send an Imperial Commission to Europe and America to study constitutional reform, and in 1908 a scheme of Constitutional Government was proclaimed, allotting a period of 9 years to the gradual fulfilment of a programme of Constitutional Monarchy. The Council of State, which was to be the father of the future Parliament, opened in 1910. But these reforms, which constituted Act III of the political drama, were approached half-heartedly; there was no genuine change on the part of the Court, the nobility or the officials, the Government was still in the hands of intriguing princes, eunuchs and old women. There was no genuine leadership in the direction of a more healthy and more vigorous national life.

During those years a new activity had manifested itself, a revolutionary movement which was directed against the Manchus. The Manchus, who had been reigning in China for 270 years, had now proved themselves incompetent, incapable of meeting the needs of the nation either in its internal or external affairs. The Taiping Rebellion provided the first definite evidence of the demoralisation of the reigning race. It was followed by the period of reaction, by the *coup d'état* of 1898 and by the tragedy of 1900. A conviction was growing among the people that, so long as the Manchu Court and nobility remained in power, there was little hope of effective transformation. The spirit of unrest grew deeper and broader in those years between 1900 and 1911, until in 1911 it showed itself in open rebellion. The dynasty offered no effective resistance. The old loyalties had been shaken by those years of revolutionary agitation. The dynasty abdicated in 1912, and thus the first popular revolt, the anti-Manchu Rebellion, won a complete and almost bloodless success.

But there remained the more important task of establishing a Republican Government. The forces that set it in motion have been in evidence for 50 years, but we must confess that the first efforts at popular government have so far proved a failure. The Republic has failed, not because modern China has failed—there has never been a modern China—but because in all these processes the changes have been superficial and have hardly touched the fundamental issues of political transformation. There has been practically no modern leadership, practically no genuine admission of our real weaknesses, no recognition of the spiritual possibilities of the new civilisation. Such reforms as were carried out were regarded as a necessary evil and were never directed by men trained for such great tasks. If we look at the list of men who have played an important part in the history of the last 50 years, there is not one who had received even the rudiments of a modern education, not one who was qualified to govern a modern State, for to govern a modern State in a constitutional way requires a modern education.

In the first years of the Republic the old forces were taken by surprise and the old officials hurried to Shanghai or Tsingtau to seek refuge and retirement, thinking probably that their day had passed. But in the course of a few years they were recalled one by one to participate once more in the Government of the country. The reactionary forces rallied round one man, Yuan Shi-Kai, the incarnation of reaction, and it was impossible for the infantile new forces to maintain an effective resistance against the shrewdness and experience of men who were past-masters at the Chinese official game. In a very short time the new forces had been swept out of sight and Yuan Shi-Kai had proclaimed himself Emperor of China.

In 1914, 1915 and 1916 there was an all-pervading sense of despair. A number of young men committed suicide because they could think of no way out, could see no ray of light ahead. It was not like those last years of the Manchu Dynasty, when people knew that somewhere and some time a rebellion would come. Now it had come, had been swept out of the path and had left only depression and despair. One of my young friends jumped into the West Lake at Hang-Chow, leaving letters of farewell to his friends expressing his joy at escape from a situation without hope. In those years people began at last to realise the futility

of superficial political change, and to seek for some new factor which could be made the corner-stone of a new age.

May I read to you an extract from a letter of Huang Yuan-yung, one of the leading publicists of the day, written just before leaving the country in 1915 at the height of Yuan Shi-Kai's power. "Politics are in such confusion that I am at a loss to know what to talk about. Ideal schemes will have to be buried for future generations to unearth. … As to fundamental salvation, I believe its beginning must be sought in the promotion of a *new literature*. We must endeavour to bring Chinese thought into contact with the contemporary thought of the world and thus accelerate its radical awakening. And we must see to it that the basic ideals of the modern world produce some direct effect upon the life of the average man. The method seems to lie in using simple language and literature for the wide dissemination of ideas among the people. Have we not seen that historians regard the European Renaissance as the foundation of the overthrow of mediaevalism in Europe?"

That letter was addressed by Huang to his friend, the editor of a paper called *The Tidings*, who wrote an editorial comment pointing out that it was impossible to have a new literature without first having some political order. He said that social reforms presuppose a certain general level of political stability and order, and that the new literature could not be an exception. Events have proved that he was wrong and that Huang was right. Huang Yuan-yung was assassinated in 1915, and he died without ever becoming aware that at about the time of his death a new movement was coming into being which would verify and vindicate his prophetic message.

It was at that time that the new movement began which forms the title and the topic of my address to-night. In the years 1915 and 1916 groups of Chinese students in American universities were carrying on a controversy on problems of literature. The controversy began on a question of poetic diction and it gradually extended to the larger problem of Chinese literature. The results of the controversy were published in the early days of 1917, and formed the first declarations of a movement which has created a revolution in Chinese literature. This literary revolution marks the first stage in the Chinese Renaissance, for here will be found a spirit essentially different from the earlier stages of modernisation. In the early days we wanted to be modern, but we were afraid of losing the other things which we were told were good. We had been constantly flattered, even by the missionaries, that we were heirs to a great heritage, and we were adjured to cherish it and cling to it—at whatever cost. Even to-day we are hypnotised continually by praises of our old civilisation. We want to be modernised, and we are expected to become modern. But at the same time we are requested not to lose what we have. We are expected to perform a miraculous task—*to change and to remain the same*. There is little wonder then that the Chinese have continued to live in comfortable dreams of compromise, accepting certain externals from the Western Barbarians whilst preserving the restrictions and negations of the past.

But a new age has dawned. We have realised at last that certain things must be given up if China is to live. If we really want education, general and universal education, we must first have a new language, a language which can be used and understood by tongue and ear and pen, and which will be a living language for the

people. For years and years we tried to have education, but we feared to use the spoken language. We tried to compromise in various ways, but we clung as scholars to the scholarly language. It was impossible to preach a language, to ask people to accept a language, which was not good enough for us. China went through a stage of contradictions and remained unconscious of the fact.

At last the new movement began in earnest, the Literary Revolution. It advocates the adoption of the spoken language, the vulgar tongue of the people, as the lay medium for all official and literary composition. Its aim is to elevate the despised vulgar tongue of the people to the dignified position of the literary language of the nation. It is a revolution in a sense because it has involved a reassessment of the vulgar literature of the past and of the classical tradition. It seeks to introduce the spoken language of the people as the medium of expression in all text-books, in all the newspapers, in all respectable branches of literature. It has achieved its success through two methods, through historical justification and through constant experiment. The historic argument has aimed to demonstrate that the classical literature, the classical tradition, of China, did not represent the whole historical development of Chinese literature; it represented only the stereotyped phase of the development of Chinese literary genius; side by side with this classical tradition there has always existed a continuous current of popular literature in the form of folk-songs, poems, epic recitals, the drama and the novel. It based its claims on those great masterpieces of literature which have become so popular among the people. One of the greatest critics of the seventeenth century was inspired to declare that one of the popular novels was superior to any work of classical diction in literary beauty. The masterpieces of the popular literature have proved conclusively that the vulgar language is capable of being used as the literary language of the people. The historical argument has been supplemented by conscious experimentation. It has been shown that in the long historical development of popular literature there was lacking one great factor—conscious endeavour. The great writers, the people, the street singers, the rustic lovers, the tavern entertainers have accepted and used this living language to express their feelings and their aims, but there has been in the past no conscious effort to adopt the language, no conscious effort to defend it.

In the history of the rise of Modern Literature in Europe there were great writers who wrote in the vulgar dialects; and at the same time they were men who defended those languages in a conscious and articulate manner. Dante, for example, wrote a defence of Italian; and the early French poets wrote a defence of the use of French. But this conscious effort was lacking in the history of Chinese literature. So the leaders of the Literary Revolution tried to supply this need by resolving never to write anything except in this new language. In the course of a few years a number of young writers have succeeded in producing presentable specimens of literary experiment. And so, by means of the indisputable facts of history and by the fruits of conscious experiment, the Literary Revolution has won its way to success in the course of less than 10 years. It has succeeded in revolutionising all the school texts, and it has succeeded in making the school life of millions of children easier than that of their fathers. It has given to the youth of the nation a new instrument for the expression of their emotions and ideas. It has formally established what was once

the despised vulgar tongue of the people as the legitimate and even the fashionable medium of literary composition.

This Literary Revolution formed the first phase of the Chinese Renaissance. It marked a new phase, a new life. It was not a complete breaking away from the past, it was a historical development; it was a conscious effort to make articulate all the valuable elements we already possessed. At the same time the methods were modern, the inspirations were modern. It thus presented to the people a new and living idea.

As language is the most important vehicle of thought and of expression, any radical and fundamental change in a national language could not but involve a great change in other phases of social and intellectual life. So, during the last 10 years, this Literary Revolution has spread and has affected various phases of Chinese life. I shall not describe those different phases in great detail. I shall confine myself to two particular phases: first, the intellectual changes, and secondly, the social and political developments.

However multifarious these tendencies may seem, there are certain general characteristics which unite them more or less into one great National Movement. The whole movement may be characterised, in the words of Nietzsche, as a movement of the transvaluation of all values. It is a movement in a way to make everything upside down; to try, to judge, to criticise, to doubt, to revalue old things according to new standards. Nothing is too high or too low to be subjected to this process of transvaluation. Marriage, concubinage, widowhood, Confucianism, Christianity—nothing is too sacred to be allowed to pass without criticism. It is for us an age of doubt, of criticism, of protest.

The first phase, the most important effect of this age, is shown in the world of intellectual life. For the first time in history we begin to recognise a new attitude, a desire to understand the basic meaning of modern civilisation, to understand the philosophy behind the civilisation of the West. As the best example of this new consciousness I may cite the work of a Chinese scholar, Liang Shou-ming. Mr. Liang's father committed suicide during the early years of the Republic because he could not bear to see the incoming of a new order and the passing away of the Manchu régime, to which he had been always loyal. The young Mr. Liang, who had apparently inherited an impulsive and courageous character from his father, was disturbed by the imminent conflict between the civilisations of the East and West. He spent years of thought on this problem, and in 1920 published a book called *The Civilisations of the East and the West and their Philosophies*—quite an ambitious title. In his introductory chapter he points out that Oriental civilisation has come into sharp and fundamental conflict with the civilisation of the West, and that we cannot escape the imperative necessity of seeking a fundamental solution. "Other people may not feel the pressing demand for the solution of this great problem," says he, "but it is not so with me. If no satisfactory answer can be found to this question, I shall not know how to live my own life." Then he goes on to postulate what he considers the only three possible alternative outcomes of this cultural conflict. He says, "First, if the two cultures are incapable of co-existence and inter-assimilation, and if Oriental civilisation must be replaced by modern culture, then

we must consciously hasten our basic reforms and not wait to perish together with our civilisation.

"Secondly, if the invasion and aggression of Western civilisation is not to be feared, and if our own civilisation may yet ultimately triumph, then we must earnestly and actively work for its revival, and we must not waste time in day-dreams and idleness and bring ruin upon ourselves and our culture.

"And, thirdly, if the two cultures are capable of mutual assimilation and compromise, then we should directly seek a clear and definite solution and fight out a new road of life; we cannot meet the urgencies of the situation by half-hearted adoption of certain non-essentials from the West."

That is his impulsive statement of the case. He is voicing the yearning of a new age. His book was widely read and much has been written since on the same subject. The most surprising thing in the writings on this question is the almost entire absence of any apologetic tone in defence of the civilisation of the East. Even Mr. Liang, whose words I have just quoted—probably the most apologetic of these writers—condemned the philosophy of life of the Hindus and frankly admitted that the Western civilisation must become the world civilisation of our day. Of course Mr. Liang had his pious hopes. He admitted that the Western must be the world civilisation to-day, but he prophesied that this Western civilisation would be replaced by Chinese civilisation, which in turn would be ultimately replaced by the civilisation of India. But he said that for the present we must get rid of all the weaknesses of the East and frankly adopt, thoroughly adopt, modern civilisation—to use his own words, the modern "democratic and scientific civilisation of the West."

We will not bother about those pious wishes, but may I suggest that in these discussions we find a completely new attitude, an attitude on the one hand of frank admission of our own weaknesses, all the weak points in Oriental civilisation; and on the other hand the attitude of a frank, genuine understanding of the spirit, not only the material prosperity, but also the spiritual possibilities of the Western civilisation.

These modern Chinese thinkers, among whom I may mention Mr. Wu Ching-heng, an old scholar of 60 who has been some years in this country and in France—men who know their own civilisation as well as modern civilisation—have come to some general conclusions, which may be stated as follows. They recognise that the civilisations of India and of China have not only failed to give proper emphasis to the physical well-being of mankind, but have failed also to satisfy the spiritual demands of the human race. For example, the desire to know, the demand for knowledge—certainly a legitimate and spiritual demand of mankind—has always been discouraged by the great sages of the East. This desire, this yearning for knowledge, has been suppressed either by scepticism or by resort to a so-called deeper wisdom through meditation and contemplation. The sceptics—Chuang-tse, for example—say that life is finite and knowledge is infinite; how dangerous then is it to pursue the infinite with the finite! Then the esoteric mystics tell us to meditate and seek a deeper wisdom through the processes of introspection. We have been accustomed to regard these forms of deeper wisdom as forms of spirituality. But, the modern Chinese are asking, what spirituality really exists in these forms of deeper wisdom,

what spirituality is there in a civilisation which has maintained a caste system for thousands of years, or which has bound the feet of its women for a 1,000 years, and has sought justification in claims of duty and beauty?

These are some of the judgments which the modern thinkers of China are frankly passing upon their own civilisation. On the other hand, there is a growing understanding of and a desire to appreciate the spiritual possibilities of Western civilisation. The ideals of equality and liberty are certainly spiritual. Science, the idea of seeking truth by verifiable methods, is certainly spiritual. The emancipation of women, the extension of the franchise, the protection of the labourer, and all that social legislation which is centred upon the idea of extending the greatest happiness to the greatest number—all these are certainly spiritual. And Socialism, whether we like it or not, is certainly the highest spiritual idea of social organisation.

Even material progress is spiritual, if we only regard it as the necessary condition for liberating humanity from the pitiful struggle for a mere subsistence and for uplifting it for higher and more valuable things. All those who have been in the Far East and have seen those millions of human beings toiling under that peculiarly Oriental form of human slavery, the rickshaw, or "man-power carriage," cannot fail to agree with us modern Chinese thinkers, that there is much spirituality in material progress which has at least relieved that much of human slavery by means of mechanical inventions.

These judgments may be wrong; they may sound even more eulogistic than the Westerners themselves are willing to admit. But I must add that we are not blind to the shortcomings of modern civilisation, to certain phases of nationalism, the means of warfare, the use of machinery for manslaughter and war, the inhuman phases of industrialism, and so on. We are not blind to these things, but we have come to an understanding of the spiritual possibilities, and we are prepared to work for the realisation of those potentialities when modernisation does come to us.

I will not discuss at any great length the other phases of the intellectual change. They include the development of a scientific scholarship, of a critical study of past learning, of movements for mass education. I might even cite the great controversy which took place several years ago on the relation of science to the view of life, a controversy which in the course of a year produced a literature amounting to 250,000 words. These things I will pass over and come to the second phase, the social and political unrest.

When the Literary Revolution began in 1917, some of us resolved not to take an active part in politics; some of us indeed declared that we would not talk politics for 20 years. I was one of them, but I broke my vow long ago, so it will be all right for me to talk politics to-day. We were convinced of the importance of non-political work, of the work of literary and intellectual change which was to become the corner-stone of a new revolution. But this movement can only be carried on by process of education, and education is always too slow a process for impulsive and impatient souls. Even in the early days of the revolution some of my colleagues were so anxious to talk politics that, during my temporary absence from Peking, they started a political paper. That was the beginning of a division in this new movement. Some of the original leaders of the movement became leaders of political parties.

The present leader of the Chinese Communist Party was the co-editor with me of that paper, *The New Youth*, which was responsible for the first launching of the language movement.

At first there were two phases of politics. One school represented a willingness to work in non-political movements and wait for years before tangible results could be expected in the political order. On the other side was the impatient school who were anxious to go on with political activities at the same time as with the non-political movement. Political disturbances, internal politics and international relations gradually forced the political problem upon us, and in the course of a few years we were convinced that we could not possibly refrain from talking politics or even from taking an active part in politics. That difference remains amongst us to-day. On the one side you have the moderates, the workers who devote their attention to literature, to new philosophy and new views of life. On the other side you have the men who are taking their part in Politics.

I should like to say a few words about the part played by the students in recent years. The Student Movement began in 1919 as a protest against the decision of the Versailles Peace Conference in regard to the Chinese province of Shantung. The constant interference of students in Politics is regarded as strange in foreign countries, but when you come to think of it, it is quite a usual phenomenon in the history of mankind. It is almost a universal rule that, whenever abnormal conditions of society exist, whenever there is lacking a regular channel for the expression of popular wishes and ideas, whenever the older generation fails to satisfy the desires of the people, the burden of political interference almost invariably falls upon the shoulders of the younger generation of intellectuals—the students. The Chinese students participated actively in politics in the second century A.D., in the tenth century, and in the seventeenth century. Whenever you find an abnormal state of affairs, there you find the Student Movement. In European history I believe that you find the same thing. In mediaeval times such movements were not uncommon. In the year 1848, the year of revolutions throughout Europe, revolutions were started by students in almost every country. In India, in Korea, in Turkey, in Persia, in Russia, whenever you find a set of abnormal conditions and the existing order of things no longer satisfies the people, or wherever the older generation has failed to live up to the expectation of the younger generation, you find an active Student Movement. And the reverse is equally true. In those countries where conditions are tolerably normal, as in America and in England, we shall find the students more deeply interested in football and cricket than in politics.

The Chinese Student Movement began as a spontaneous movement in 1919. It became so suddenly strong that the Government was soon forced to dismiss three pro-Japanese officials of the highest rank. There was no Russian propaganda, no organisation of any kind behind it; it was a spontaneous patriotic movement. Though it gradually spread and became a national movement, it lacked any efficient form of organisation. But the events of 1919, 1920 and 1921 so clearly demonstrated the usefulness and power of this new element in Chinese life that political parties began to understand and try to use that power. In the years 1920 and 1921 many political parties threw open the columns of their papers to student contributions;

student editors and reporters were employed in an attempt to get students interested in political life. Then in 1924 the Kwo-min-Tang…officially adopted the policy of enlisting students among its members. From that time onward party organisations have existed in the colleges and universities throughout the country, and wherever you find an educational centre you will find a party organisation of some kind.

The first stage of student activity found them without any organisation. The second stage was one of political organisation. Then came a third stage, when the students were no longer a loose organisation, but a highly organised body under the influence of Soviet Russia and of the Third International. The Chinese as a race have always shown a lack of organisation. Even in literature we find in the whole literary harvest of 2500 years no single book written with a plot, with an organisation, with a desire for architectonic structure. Even the novels and dramas show a lack of plot, of organisation. The early unorganised efforts of the Student Movement soon died away. Any great emotional crisis would be sufficient to call up a Student Movement, but as soon as the issue passed the movement died away.

But the new phase of the movement is different. The new Kwo-min-Tang, or National Party, has adopted a highly developed organisation, a new army, a new discipline. The army became a part of the party, and the party became the directorate, the teacher, the soul, the brain of the army. The whole organisation of the military army and of the party itself is practically identical, at least interlocked. There is a party representative in every unit of the army. At the same time, the whole party is more or less under a military type of discipline. This, I think, is a very remarkable and very important fact. The Japanese received a great deal of inspiration from the Germans in the early days of their enlightenment. The Chinese have not yet learned any serious lesson from any Western country. But we are beginning to be schooled in the matter of organisation. We do not know what will be the result, but, so far as we can judge by the events of the last few months, we can see that the movement is taking shape. The army thus organised has certainly won victories over the older armies which were not organised.

Thus the movement of Chinese Renaissance swings back to politics. This is, perhaps, inevitable. The political anarchy had become intolerable and the outside world, as well as Young China, has grown quite impatient. It may be that we were wrong in trying to avoid politics. It may be that the new political movement was after all not so premature as it had once seemed to us. Recent events seem to point to the possibility of an early success of the new political revolution under the leadership of the Nationalist Party. The old forces set loose by the revolution of 1911 have gradually exhausted themselves and are offering no serious resistance to the new forces which have the advantage of organisation and the inspiration of political ideals. As an impartial and non-partisan liberal, I wish them success and welcome it.

I am sorry that I have taken so much time. I was advised not to read a paper, so I have tried to speak without notes. But I have been tempted to speak for longer than I had intended.

Chapter 4
The Civilizations of the East and the West

A revised text appears in The World's Best edited by Whit Burnett (New York: Dial Press, 1928), pp. 1066–1077. This article is essentially an English translation of "Women duiyu xiyang jindai wenming de taidu," Hu Shih Wencun III, pp. 1–15.

In recent years the despondent mood of a number of European writers has led to the revival of such old myths as the bankruptcy of the material civilization of the West and the superiority of the spiritual civilization of the Oriental nations. When I was in Germany last year, a German savant most solemnly assured me that the civilization of the East was based on spiritual principles. "In the East," said my enthusiastic friend, "even souls are selected on the basis of moral fitness. For does not the doctrine of the transmigration of souls imply the idea of moral selection?" Although these expressions represent nothing more than the pathological mentality of war-stricken Europe, they have already had the unfortunate effect of gratifying the vanity of Oriental apologists and thereby strengthening the hand of reaction in the East. In the West, too, one could see, as I have seen during my recent travels, that such loose thinking was leading not a few people away from a proper understanding of their own civilization which is fast becoming the world civilization. It is in the hope of furnishing a new point of view and a new basis of discussion that I now offer these few reflections on the civilizations of the East and the West.

Chapter Note: Charles A. Beard, ed., Whither Mankind: A Panorama of Modern Civilization. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928. pp. 25–41.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_4, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

I

As a true Chinese, I must begin with Confucius. According to Confucius, all implements of civilization are spiritual in origin: they all came from "ideas." "When conceived, they are called ideas. When materially embodied, they are called implements. When instituted for general use, they are called forms or patterns. When wrought into the everyday life of all the people, they marvel at them and call them the work of the gods." Confucius cited many examples to illustrate this point of view. Man saw wood floating on water and invented canoes and ships; he saw wood submerged under water and, caring for the preservation of the dead bodies of his parents, invented coffins and tombs. He saw rain fall from the heavens and, thinking probably of the work of time obliterating all traces of human memory, invented writing to take the place of knotted cords.

Needless to say, this view of Confucius was supported by Plato and Aristotle in the West. Human tools and institutions had their origin in the "ideas" or ideal patterns which Aristotle called the "formal causes." Confucius and Plato and Aristotle lived in those good old days when the human mind was not yet troubled by the mediaeval dualism of matter and spirit and was therefore able to recognize the ideality underlying the material embodiment of human inventions.

Indeed there is no such thing as a purely material civilization. Every tool of civilization is produced by human intelligence making use of the matter and energy in the natural world for the satisfaction of a want, a desire, an aesthetic feeling or an intellectual curiosity. A clay pot is no more material than a love lyric; nor is St. Paul's Cathedral less material than the Woolworth Building. Indeed when man first made fire by accidentally drilling wood, the invention was regarded as such a spiritual thing as to be attributed to one of the greatest gods. In the East, all the legendary kings of China were not priest-philosophers, but inventors. Such, for example, were Sui-jen, the discoverer of fire, You-tsao, the first builder of houses, and Shen-nung, the first teacher of agriculture and medicine.

Our forefathers were quite right in deifying the creators of tools. Man is a tool-making animal, and it is tool-making which constitutes civilization. The invention of fire created a new epoch in the history of human civilization; agriculture, another; the invention of writing, a third; printing, a fourth. The great religions of the world may justly claim the credit for submerging the whole civilized world from the China Sea to the British Isles underneath the deluge of mediaevalism. But it was the invention of the telescope and the steam-engine and the discovery of electricity and radio activity that have made the modern world what it is to-day. And if the priests of the Mediaeval Age were justly canonized as saints, Galileo, Watt, Stephenson, Morse, Bell, Edison, and Ford certainly deserve to be honored as gods and enshrined with Prometheus and Cadmus. They represent that which is most divine in man, namely, that creative intelligence which provides implements and makes civilization possible.

The civilization of a race is simply the sum-total of its achievement in adjusting itself to its environment. Success or failure in that adjustment depends upon the ability of the race to use intelligence for the invention of necessary and effective

tools. Advancement in civilization depends upon the improvement of tools. Such names as the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age and the Steam and Electricity Age tell the tale of the development of civilization. And what is true of the historical development of civilization, is no less true of the geographical distribution of the different civilizations. The difference between the Eastern and Western civilizations is primarily a difference in the tools used. The West has during the last 200 years moved far ahead of the East merely because certain Western nations have been able to devise new tools for the conquest of nature and for the multiplication of the power to do work. The East, whence have come a number of the epoch-making tools of ancient civilization, has failed to carry on that great tradition and is left behind in the stage of manual labor while the Western World has long entered the age of steam and electricity.

This, then, is the real difference between the Oriental and Western civilizations. The Oriental civilization is built primarily on human labor as the source of power whereas the modern civilization of the West is built on the basis of the power of machinery. As one of my American friends has put it, "each man, woman and child in America possesses from 25 to 30 mechanical slaves, while it is estimated that each man, woman and child in China has at his command but three quarters of one mechanical slave."[1] An American engineer has stated the case almost in the same language: "Every person in the United States has 35 invisible slaves working for him. … The American workman is not a wage slave, but a boss of a considerable force, whether he realizes it or not."[2] Herein lies the real explanation of the difference between the two civilizations. It is a difference in degree which in the course of time has almost amounted to a difference in kind.

II

In July, 1926, I arrived at Harbin, in Northern Manchuria, on my way to Europe. The modern city of Harbin was formerly a Russian Concession which grew up from a small trading centre into what is now called the "Shanghai of North China." With the development of the Russian Concession, there has grown up, a few miles away, the native city of Harbin which was once only a group of peasant villages. While I was touring through the city, I was struck by one interesting fact: whereas practically all the vehicles of locomotion in the native city were jinrickshas, or carriages pulled by human power, no 'ricksha was allowed to operate in the former Russian City which, though now under Chinese administration, still retained much of Russian influence and tradition. Transportation and travelling in the modern city of Harbin were by tramways and taxicabs; 'rickshas carrying passengers from the native city must leave without a fare.

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[1] Julean Arnold, "Some Bigger Issues in China's Problems," a booklet soon to be published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai.

[2] Thomas T. Rod, "The American Secret," *The Atlantic Monthly, March, 1927.*

Here I made my great discovery in modern geography—I discovered the borderline between the Eastern and Western civilizations. The city of Harbin separates the East from the West by separating the jinricksha (man-power-carriage) civilization from the motor-car civilization!

Let all apologists for the spiritual civilization of the East reflect on this. What spirituality is there in a civilization which tolerates such a terrible form of human slavery as the 'ricksha coolie? Do we seriously believe that there can be any spiritual life left in those poor human beasts of burden who run and toil and sweat under that peculiar bondage of slavery which knows neither the minimum wage nor any limit of working hours? Do we really believe that the life of a 'ricksha coolie is more spiritual or more moral than that of the American workman who rides to and from his work in his own motor-car, who takes his whole family outing and picnicking on Sundays in distant parks and woods, who listens to the best music of the land on the radio almost for no cost, and whose children are educated in schools equipped with the most modern library and laboratory facilities?

It is only when one has fully realized what misery and acute suffering the life of 'ricksha-pulling entails and what effects it produces on the bodily health of those human beasts of burden—it is only then that one will be truly and religiously moved to bless the Hargreaveses, the Cartwrights, the Watts, the Fultons, the Stephensons, and the Fords who have devised machines to do the work for man and relieve him from much of the brutal suffering to which his Oriental neighbor is still subject.

Herein, therefore, lies the real spirituality of the material civilization, of mechanical progress *per se*. Mechanical progress means the use of human intelligence to devise tools and machines to multiply the working ability and productivity of man so that he may be relieved from the fate of toiling incessantly with his unaided hands, feet, and back without being able to earn a bare subsistence, and so that he may have enough time and energy left to seek and enjoy the higher values which civilization can offer him. Where man has to sweat blood in order to earn the lowest kind of livelihood, there is little *life* left, letting alone civilization. A civilization to be worthy of its name must be built upon the foundation of material progress. As one of China's statesmen said twenty-six centuries ago, "when food and clothing are sufficiently provided for, honor and disgrace can be distinguished; and when granaries are full, the people will know good manners." This is not to drag in the so-called economic interpretation of history: it is simple commonsense. Picture a civilization where boys and girls and old women with bamboo baskets tied to their backs and with pointed sticks in hand, flock to every dumping place of garbage and search every heap of refuse for a possible torn piece of rag or a half-burnt piece of coal. How can we expect a moral and spiritual civilization to grow up in such an atmosphere?

Then people may point to the religious life in those regions where the material civilization is low. I shall not discuss those Oriental religions whose highest deities appear on roadsides in the shape of human sex organs. I shall only ask: "What spirituality is there, let us say, in the old beggar-woman who dies in the direst destitution, but who dies while still mumbling, '*Nama Amita Buddha*!' and in the clear conviction that she will surely enter that blissful paradise presided over by the Amita

Buddha? Do we earnestly think it moral or spiritual to inculcate in that beggar-woman a false belief which shall so hypnotize her as to make her willingly live and die in such dire conditions where she ought not to have been had she been born in a different civilization?"

No! A thousand times No! All those hypnotic religions belong to an age when man had reached senility and felt himself impotent in coping with the forces of nature. Therefore he gave up the fight in despair and, like the disappointed fox in the ancient fable who declared the grapes sour because he could not reach them, began to console himself and teach the world that wealth and comfort are contemptible and that poverty and misery are something to be proud of. From this it was only a step to the idea that life itself was not worth living and that the only desirable thing was the blissful existence in the world beyond. And when wise men calmly taught these ideas, fanatics went further and practised self-denial, self-torture, and even suicide. In the West, saints prayed, fasted, lived on pillars, and whipped themselves at regular intervals. In mediaeval China, monks prayed, fasted, and, feeding themselves daily with fragrant oil and tying their bodies with oiled cloth, gladly burned themselves to death as offerings to some deity of Mahayana Buddhism.

It was those religions of defeatism that sank the whole civilized world underneath the universal deluge of Mediaevalism. It took over a 1,000 years for a portion of mankind to emerge from the civilization which glorifies poverty and sanctifies disease, and slowly build up a new civilization which glorifies life and combats poverty as a crime. As we look around to-day, the religions of the Middle Ages are still there, the churches and cathedrals are still there, the monasteries and nunneries are still there. How is it that the outlook upon life has so radically changed? The change has come because in the last two centuries men have hit upon a few key-inventions out of which a vast number of tools and machines have been constructed for the control of the resources and powers in nature. By means of these machines men have been able to save labor and reduce distance, to fly in the air, tunnel the mountains and sail underneath the deep seas, to enslave lightning to pull our carriages and employ "ether" to deliver our messages throughout the world. Science and machinery seem to meet no resistance from nature. Life has become easier and happier, and man's confidence in his own powers has greatly increased. Man has become the master of himself and of his own destiny. Thus a revolutionary poet sings:

> I fight alone, and win or sink,
> I need no one to make me free;
> I want no Jesus Christ to think
> That he could ever die for me.

Thus the new civilization of the new age has given to men a new religion, the religion of self-reliance as contrasted with the religion of defeatism of the Middle Ages.

III

We are all children of the past, and the distinctive types of civilization which we find to-day can be best understood in the light of the relationship they bear to their respective mediaeval heritage. The difference between the Eastern and Western civilizations is simply a degree of success or failure in the process of breaking away from the mediaeval ideas and institutions which once ruled the whole civilized world. The modern civilization of the West, as I have tried to show in the preceding paragraphs, represents a higher degree of success in the emancipation from mediaevalism than any other cultural group has yet achieved. At the other end of the scale stands the civilization of India which is mediaevalism made visible to-day. Between these two poles, we may arrange and grade all the other civilizations of the East.

A comparison between China and Japan will be most instructive in helping to drive home the point we are making. China started her fight against mediaeval Buddhism at least twelve centuries ago. With the aid of the humanistic tradition of Confucianism and the naturalistic philosophy of the school of Laotse, China fought a long war against the mediaeval religions. Mahayana Buddhism was replaced in the eighth century by Chinese Zennism which was only the naturalism of ancient China clothed in Buddhist terminology. By the ninth century, Zennism became iconoclastic and was hardly recognizable as a religious sect. A great revival of the secular philosophy of Confucianism began in the eleventh century. Since that time, Buddhism has gradually died out without a persecution. The Neo-Confucianism which began, naturally enough, as a scholastic philosophy, slowly developed a highly intellectualistic attitude and its slogan became: "Extend your knowledge by going to things and finding the reason thereof." By the middle of the seventeenth century, Chinese scholarship had developed a genuinely scientific method of study and investigation. Every philological reconstruction or textual criticism or historical research must be based upon evidences. With the aid of this new methodology, the scholarship of the last 300 years became quite scientific and a number of historical sciences, notably philology, textual criticism, higher criticism and archaeology reached a high stage of development.

Yet with all this achievement in the humanistic studies and with all the success in the gradual emancipation of philosophical thought from religion, China remains in her backward state where we find her to-day. She has overthrown the mediaeval religions, but has not made life easier for the vast majority of the people; she has found a scientific method, but its application has been confined to books and documents; there has been an emancipation of the mind, but there has not been an equivalent subjugation of the material environment to sustain that intellectual emancipation and make it a reality in the ordinary life of the people. The thinkers of the seventeenth century lamented the fact that 500 years of rational philosophy could not save the country from the fate of destruction by famine and banditry and final subjugation by a barbarian race. Thereupon they turned away from philosophizing and devoted themselves to what they considered to be "useful knowledge." Little did they dream that the 300 years' diligent and scientific scholarship after them would

also turn out to be only a new kind of scholasticism and would prove of little or no value in the salvation and uplifting of the life of the people!

On the other hand, Japan has achieved a modern civilization within a short period of time by an unreserved acceptance of the tools and machines of the Western civilization. When Perry knocked at the gate of Japan, she was deep in her mediaeval slumbers. After a short period of resistance, she was forced to throw open her doors to Western influence. In the face of imminent dangers of national humiliation and ruin, she did not trouble about her mediaeval religions and feudalistic morals, but went wholeheartedly into the work of equipping herself with all the new weapons of war, vehicles of commerce, machines of production, and methods of organization. In the course of half a century, Japan has not only become one of the greatest powers of the world, but has also solved a number of important problems which neither Buddhistic religion nor Chinese philosophy had been able to solve. Feudalism is gone forever, constitutional government by parliamentary representation has come to stay, and the mediaeval religions are being rapidly undermined. Japan was the inventor of the 'ricksha; but to-day in the industrial centres of Yokohama and Tokyo the 'ricksha coolie is rapidly disappearing. And his disappearance has not been brought about by the humanitarianism of the native or foreign religions, nor by the good offices of the ladies of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, but only by the advent of the "one-yen-within-the-city" Ford Car. And, with the increase of wealth and prosperity made possible by the mechanical and industrial civilization, the indigenous artistic genius of the nation has been able to develop in the course of time a new art and a new literature commensurable with the material progress in the country. Japan has to-day 90 institutions of scientific and technological research and 30,000 engineers enrolled in the membership of her national engineering societies. Through three workers and instrumentalities a great modern civilization full of spiritual potentialities is being built up in the East.

The moral of the story is clear. Man began his career as the tool-making animal and built up his civilization by inventing new implements for the control of his material environment. Civilization sank into mediaeval darkness when man became weary of the task of fighting his natural environment and sought refuge in the life of the spirit. It was science and the new technology which restored to man the sense of self-confidence and created the modern civilization of the West. It was the introduction of science and technology which transformed Japan and built up her modern civilization. And it will be the same science and technology which will transform the whole East and bring China and India into the world of modern civilizations.

IV

I began by pointing out the spirituality of the most material phase of modern Western civilization, namely, its technological phase. Modern technology is highly spiritual because it seeks, through human ingenuity and intelligence, to relieve human energy from the unnecessary hardships of life and provide for it the necessary conditions for the enjoyment of life. Whatever be the use man may make of the resultant com-

fort and leisure, the relief of suffering and hardship is in itself spiritual. We do not necessarily condemn God simply because some honest heretics were burned to death in His name.

I shall now try to show the spirituality of the other phases of the Western civilization. I shall leave out art, music, and literature, for it is evident to all that the West has its art and literature which are at least comparable with those found in the East, and its music which is certainly far more advanced than any which the Oriental countries can boast of.

Let us begin with Science. Whatever may be our divergent views regarding the exact definition of the life of the spirit, no one to-day will probably deny that the desire to know is one of the legitimate spiritual demands of mankind. Yet practically all the older civilizations have tried to suppress this intellectual longing of man. According to the Book of Genesis, the Fall of Man was caused, not by Woman, but by the acquisition of Knowledge. Most of the Oriental religions taught such slogans as "No knowledge, no desire"; "Know nothing and follow the plan of God"; "Abandon wisdom and shun sagacity." A great sage of the East declared: "Life is finite and knowledge is infinite. How hazardous it is to pursue the infinite with the finite!" Thereupon those teachers of man turned away from the strenuous path of knowledge-seeking and resorted to the various ways of introspection, meditation, and contemplation in search for what they conceived to be the "deeper wisdom." Some taught the ways of direct communion with God through devout contemplation. Others elaborated the four stages of dhyana by means of which one might attain the six magic powers of the gods.

As recently as January, 1927, an Egyptian fakir tried to demonstrate to an American audience in Englewood, N. J., that he could prove the superiority of the spiritual civilization of the East by allowing himself to be buried alive for 2 h and 52 min five ft under the ground. He bettered the record set by the great magician, Houdini, by 82 min, but failed to secure a vaudeville contract with the Loew's Company which feared that the theatre audience might not have the patience to sit three hours for the Oriental wise man to revive.

After all, there is very little spirituality in such small tricks of spiritualism, which are still commonly practised by mendicant priests of the East. Do not most animals succeed in doing this during their period of hibernation? On the other hand, there is genuine spiritual joy in the work of the scientists who seek to wring from nature her little secrets by means of rigid methods of study and experimentation. Truth is deeply hidden and never reveals itself to those insolent souls who approach nature with unaided hands and untrained sense-organs. Science trains our intelligence and equips it with necessary tools and methods. It teaches us not to despair of the infinity of knowledge, for it is only through piecemeal accumulation of fragmentary information that we can hope to arrive at some knowledge of nature at all. Every piecemeal acquisition is progress, and every little step in advance gives to the worker a genuinely spiritual rapture. When Archimedes, on jumping into the bath tub, suddenly found the solution of the scientific problem that had troubled him, he was so overjoyed that he ran naked into the streets and shouted to everybody: "Eureka! Eureka!" This has been the spiritual joy that has constantly visited every research-

worker in science, every Galileo, Newton, Pasteur, and Edison—a state of rapturous spirituality totally unknown to the pseudo-prophets of the old civilization, who professed to seek the higher knowledge of the totality of things by inward contemplation and self-hypnotism.

For self-hypnotism it was which constituted the so-called spiritual pleasure of the practitioners of the older religions. A great Chinese philosophical rebel in the seventeenth century thus recorded his own experience in one of his moods of spiritual "attainment": "It was a summer day. Clad in cotton-padded coat, I was leading the mules carrying the wheat-crop from the field. When my hired laborer was unloading the mules and piling up the sacks, I sat alone under the willow-trees and looked at the blue skies. The breezes were pleasant and the white clouds were gathering and regathering. I sang aloud the famous song of the great philosopher Cheng-hao which began with the line 'Light clouds and light breezes a little before noon,' and I felt that I was very happy and my heart flew out as if it could embrace the whole heaven and earth, as if there were nothing else besides heaven and earth and myself. Then I looked through the thick leaves with half-closed eyes, and the sun appeared like a brilliant pearl shining through a screen of green silk. And the buzz of the invisible flies sounded like the divine music played in the court of the ancient sage-kings! …" When the author of this episode, Yen Yuen (1635–1704), in his later years revolted against all the empty philosophizing of Neo-Confucianism and founded the Northern School of Pragmatism which to this day bears his name, he allowed this record of his early folly to be preserved in his collected writings as a testimony to the unreal and self-deceptive character of the methods of the old semi-religious philosophies.

The most spiritual element in science is its skepticism, its courage to doubt everything and believe nothing without sufficient evidence. This attitude is not merely negative, although on the negative side it has performed very great service in liberating the human mind from slavish subjection to superstition and authority. The attitude of doubt is essentially constructive and creative: it is the only legitimate road to belief; it aims at conquering doubt itself and establishing belief on a new basis. It has not only fought the old beliefs with the irresistible weapon, "Give me evidence," but also raised new problems and led to new discoveries by the same insistence on evidence. It is this spirit of "creative doubt" which has made the biographies of the great scientists such as Darwin, Huxley, Pasteur, and Koch the most inspiring of all human records. Just as credulity has made our mediaeval saints, so has doubt made our modern gods who overcame nature and blessed man.

V

But the most spiritual phase of the modern civilization of the West is its new religion which, in the absence of a better name, I shall term the religion of Democracy.

Modern civilization did not begin with religion, but it has resulted in a new religion; it did not much trouble about morals, but it has achieved a new system of morals. The European powers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were frankly states of piracy. The great heroes of the age, Columbus, Magellan, Drake, and their like, were great pirates who braved the stormy and unknown seas in search of gold, silver, ivory, spices, and slaves. Their adventures were usually supported by genuine royal or imperial patronage, and their glory and spoils were justly shared by their state and sovereign. They had no scruples for their religion which taught love for all men or for their morals which condemned even usury.

Those acts of piracy opened up the new continents to European trade and colonization which in turn greatly enhanced the material wealth and power of some of the European states and furnished tremendous stimulus to production and invention. The Industrial Revolution followed which fundamentally transformed the methods of production and multiplied the productive powers of the European states. With the increase in material enjoyment and the rise of a large middle class, there has been simultaneously an expansion in man's imaginative power and sympathy. And with the restoration of man's confidence in himself as the agent to control his own destinies, there have developed the various types of social consciousness and social virtues. All this leads to the rise of the new religion of democracy, by which I mean to include the individualistic ideals of the eighteenth century and the socialistic ideals of the last 100 years.

The new creeds of the eighteenth century were Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. The new religion since the middle of the last century is socialism. All of which are spiritual forces rarely, if ever, dreamed of by the older civilizations. It is true that there were in the East religions which taught universal love and there were schools of thought which advocated equal distribution of land and property. But these have remained paper doctrines which never became real factors in social life and political organization.

Not so in the West. The ideals of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity have become the war-cry of the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the revolutions of 1848, and have vibrated through all the later revolutions. They have worked themselves into the constitutions of the new republics. They have brought about the downfall of monarchies, empires, and aristocracies. They have given to man equality before the law and freedom of thought, speech, publication, and religious belief. Above all, they have emancipated the women and made universal education a reality.

The ideals of Socialism are merely supplementary to the earlier and more individualistic ideas of democracy. They are historically part of the great democratic movement. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the laissez-faire policy was no longer sufficient to achieve the desired results of equality and liberty under the highly organized and centralized economic system. Compulsory education was opposed as an infringement of liberty, and legislation regulating wages and factory conditions was branded as "class legislation." The time had come for a new social and political philosophy which would meet the needs of the new economic life of the age. Hence the rise of the socialistic movements which, when freed from their

distracting theories of economic determinism and class war, simply mean the emphasis on the necessity of making use of the collective power of society or of the state for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In practice, the movement has taken two main directions. On one hand, there has been the strong tendency to organize labor as the effective means for the protection of the interests of the working class, and collective bargaining and strikes have been the chief weapons. On the other hand, there has been an equally strong tendency on the part of all modern governments to forestall the wasteful methods of class struggle by assimilating and putting into practice a number of socialistic ideas such as taxation on inheritance, progressive income tax, compulsory insurance of workmen against accident and old age, regulation of working hours, fixing of minimum wages, and others. By one way or another or by both, many ideas which were once regarded as dangerously socialistic, have become an integral part of the legislative and governmental programme of every modern state. One may still believe in the sacred right of property, but the tax on income and inheritance has become a most important source of revenue for most governments. One may still condemn the idea of class war, but organized labor has become a fact and strikes are almost universally legalized. England, the mother country of capitalism, has had a Labor Government and may soon have another. The United States of America, the champion of individual liberty, is trying to enforce national prohibition. The world is becoming socialistic without being aware of it.

This religion of Democracy which not only guarantees one's own liberty, nor merely limits one's liberty by respecting the liberty of other people, but endeavors to make it possible, for every man and every woman to live a free life; which not only succeeds through science and machinery in greatly enhancing the happiness and comfort of the individual, but also seeks through organization and legislation to extend the goods of life to the greatest number—this is the greatest spiritual heritage of the Western civilization. Is it necessary for me to remind my readers that neither the emancipation of woman, nor democratic government, nor universal education has come from the so-called spiritual civilizations of the East? Is it necessary for me to add that, after all, there is not much spirituality in a civilization which bound the feet of its women for almost a 1,000 years without a protest, nor in that other civilization which long tolerated the practice of suttee or cremation of widows and has maintained the horrible caste-system to this day?

VI

I cannot think of a more fitting conclusion to this lengthy discussion than proposing to reconsider the much misused and therefore very confusing phrases "spiritual civilization," "material civilization," and "materialistic civilization." The term "material civilization" ought to have a purely neutral meaning, for all tools of civilization are material embodiments of ideas and the wheelbarrow civilization of the East is no less material than the motor-car civilization of the West. The term "materialistic civilization," which has often been applied to stigmatize the modern civilization of

the West, seems to me to be a more appropriate word for the characterization of the backward civilizations of the East. For to me that civilization is materialistic which is limited by matter and incapable of transcending it; which feels itself powerless against its material environment and fails to make the full use of human intelligence for the conquest of nature and for the improvement of the conditions of man. Its sages and saints may do all they can to glorify contentment and hypnotize the people into a willingness to praise their gods and abide by their fate. But that very self-hypnotizing philosophy is more materialistic than the dirty houses they live in, the scanty food they eat, and the clay and wood with which they make the images of their gods.

On the other hand, that civilization which makes the fullest possible use of human ingenuity and intelligence in search of truth in order to control nature and transform matter for the service of mankind, to liberate the human spirit from ignorance, superstition, and slavery to the forces of nature, and to reform social and political institutions for the benefit of the greatest number—such a civilization is highly idealistic and spiritual. This civilization will continue to grow and improve itself. But its future growth and improvement will not be brought about by returning to the spiritualistic ideals of the East, but only through conscious and deliberate endeavors in the direction of fully realizing those truly spiritual potentialities which the progress of this civilization has indicated.

Chapter 5
Wang Mang, the Socialist Emperor of Nineteen Centuries Ago

I

In the year 71 B.C., there was born in the Wang family of Yüen-ch'êng (元城) a little girl who was destined to rule over the Han Empire for almost 40 years and to found a new dynasty which was to last 15 years. This girl grew up in a family of four daughters and eight sons, and was educated in the arts of writing and harp-playing. At the age of 17, she was sent to the Imperial Court as one of the Court Maidens. In the following year, she was selected by the Emperor Hsüan Ti (宣帝) as one of the five maidens to be given to the Heir Apparent, who had been much grieved by the death of his favourite concubine. She soon won the love of the Heir Apparent and in the year 51 B.C. gave birth to a son, the first male grand-child of the Emperor. In 48 B.C., the Emperor died and the Heir Apparent came to the throne, whose posthumous title was Yüen Ti (元帝). In the same year, Lady Wang was made Empress and her son, Heir Apparent.

In accordance with the custom of the time, her father, Wang Chin (王禁) was created Marquis (of Yang-ping). His death in 42 B.C. left the marquisate to his eldest son Wang Fung (王凤) who, in co-operation with the Empress, played an important part in protecting the young Heir Apparent against the many intrigues in the imperial household. The Emperor Yüen Ti died in 33 B.C. and the young Heir Apparent became ruler of the Han Empire at the age of 17.

Empress Wang thus became Empress-Dowager, and her brother, Wang Fung, was made Marshal and Grand Minister of State. Another brother, Wang Ch'ung, was created a Marquis, and her five half-brothers were made titular marquises. Several years later, all five were given large marquisates. All political power was in the Wang family. After 10 years of autocratic power, Wang Fung died in 22 B.C. and

Chapter Note: Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. LIX, 1928.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_5, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

was succeeded by his cousin Wang Yin (王音) who held the power of state until his death in 15 B.C. Wang Yin was succeeded by Wang Fung's half-brother Wang Shang (王商) who in turn was succeeded in 12 B.C. by his brother Wang Kên (王根). Wang Kên retired in the year 8 B.C., and his nephew Wang Mang became Grand Minister of War.

Wang Mang was the son of Empress Wang's eldest half-brother, who died young. While all the other members of the Wang family were rivalling one another in luxury, debauchery, and the amassing of riches, Wang Mang alone won a great reputation for his scholarship in the classical studies, for his filial piety towards his widowed mother, for his temperate and simple living, and for his assiduous patronage of talented and learned men. He was made Marquis of Hsin-tu at the age of 30 (16 B.C.). He was only 38 when he wielded the highest power of the Empire. The higher he was elevated in rank and power, the more humble and courteous he became in dealing with men. He distributed all his income among his poor friends and followers, and his own family lived a life of frugality and simplicity. One day his mother was ill and all the nobles and high officials sent their wives to his house to enquire after her state of health. These great ladies were met at the door by a woman dressed in simple cloth and without a long flowing skirt. They thought she was a servant-woman of the house, and were greatly surprised on learning that this lady was no less a person than the wife of the great Marquis Wang Mang.

The Emperor Ch'êng Ti (成帝) died in the year 6 B.C., leaving no heir to the throne. The Prince of Ting-tao, nephew to the Emperor, was selected to succeed him. This was Ai Ti (哀帝). The Empress-Dowager now became the Grand-Empress-Dowager. The new emperor brought with him his own mother and her family, who soon overshadowed the Grand-Empress-Dowager and the Wang family in imperial favour and political power. But the new emperor was the last and probably the worst of a long line of degenerate scions of the Han Dynasty; he lived a life of sexual perversion and died in the sixth year of his reign (1 B.C.).

Wang Mang was restored to power by the Grand-Empress-Dowager who became Regent for the newly selected Emperor, a boy of 8 years. In the first year of the Christian era, Wang Mang was made Imperial Tutor and Grand Duke, with the title of "Guardian of the Han Dynasty."

Wang Mang was at the height of his popularity. He continued his simple living and offered the government a million cash and 3,000 μ of land for the relief of the poor. His virtuous example was followed by the other nobles and high officials, and all credit went to the Guardian of Han. He expanded the National University and built 10,000 rooms for the accommodation of students. He enlarged the College of Doctors and gathered at the Imperial Court talented men of all kinds of attainment—astrologers, musicians, mathematicians, military experts, men of letters, physicians and men who studied medicinal herbs. It is recorded that over a thousand of such scholars were gathered from all parts of the Empire.

He became the idol of the nation. When he refused to accept the vast tract of land granted to him as a reward for his services to the state, the populace cried out as at an act of grave injustice, and, it was recorded, 487,572 persons from all parts of the

country petitioned the Emperor and the Empress-Regent, urging that just rewards be given to the great Guardian of the Han Dynasty.

The boy-emperor (P'ing Ti 平帝) died at the age of 13 (A.D. 5). It was rumoured that he was poisoned by Wang Mang because the young ruler had shown some tendency to recalcitrance against the absolute control of his Grand Guardian. An infant of 2 years old was then selected to be successor to the throne and Wang Mang was made "the Acting Emperor" (假皇帝).

This was an age of superstition. The prevailing religion of the people included three main features: a belief in a knowing and purposeful God, the worship of spirits and forces of nature, and a belief in a reciprocal relationship between God and the actions of man. All calamities and anomalies in the heavens and on earth, such as eclipses of the sun, comets, earthquakes, flood, famine, pestilence, were believed to be warnings of Heaven to the Emperor and his government for their evil policy and wicked conduct. But in times of peace and benevolent rule, God would also send down signs of approbation in the form of propitious phenomena, such as the arrival of rare birds and animals of striking shape and beauty, the fall of fragrant dew from the skies, or the growth of strange flowers and grains.

All these forms of popular superstition were utilized by the supporters of Wang Mang in creating a general belief that it was the will of Heaven that the great Guardian of Han should become emperor and supersede the descendants of the family of Liu as the "Son of Heaven." A messenger from Heaven was seen in a dream by a petty officer in Shantung, who was told that the Acting Emperor ought to become the real emperor; and to prove the reality of the Divine Will, the heavenly messenger caused a well to appear in front of his house. The next morning, the officer opened his door and found there a well of 100 ft in depth! One day in the year A.D. 8, a bronze case was discovered in the Temple of the Founder of the Han Dynasty, containing an explicit message from the spirit of that great empire-builder instructing Wang Mang to become the real emperor!

Now that even the Founder of the Han Dynasty had expressed willingness to entrust the empire to the hand of Wang Mang, there was no way open to the virtuous Acting Emperor but to accept this great trust. Thus, most reluctantly and with tears and loud weeping, Wang Mang led the baby-emperor down from the throne and made himself the New Emperor. He called his dynasty "the New (新) Dynasty"; it lasted until the year A.D. 23.

Wang Mang was the first man to win the empire without an armed revolution. He did it by deliberate planning and by a lifelong practice of studied virtue and covert cunning. For nineteen centuries he has been called Wang Mang the Usurper.

II

In the light of history, Wang Mang must be regarded as one of the greatest statesmen China has ever produced. He became Grand Minister of War at the age of 38, was Grand Duke at 46, Acting Emperor at 41, actual Emperor at 53 and was killed at 68.

His activities in politics covered a period of about 30 years. But that brief period of 30 years has left a lasting mark in almost every important phase of Chinese civilization. Mr. Kang Yu-wei, the scholar-reformer of 1898, published in 1891 his great work, *The Confucian Classics Forged by the Scholars of the New Dynasty* (新学伪经考), in which he tried to prove that practically all the important Confucian Classics which had been known as "ancient script texts" (古文) and which had continued to influence Chinese thought and morals for nineteen centuries with unrivalled authority and almost unquestioned authenticity, were forged by the followers of Wang Mang, in particular by Liu Hsin (刘歆). This group of texts includes part of the *Shu Ching*, the Mao commentary on the *Shih Ching*, the Tso commentary on the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, the *Chou Li* and others. Kang Yu-wei was not a solitary rebel and iconoclast in raising grave doubt about these important texts. His accusations were seemingly well documented, and at least some of his theories have since been accepted by a fairly large number of critical scholars. There is no doubt that these suspected texts either did not make their appearance or were never officially recognized until the end of the first century B.C., and their authenticity was bitterly contested by conservative scholars during the early period of Wang Mang's supreme power. And there is no doubt that the founder of the New Dynasty and his enthusiastic supporters were not entirely disinterested in advocating the recognition and establishment of the so-called "ancient script texts." There is no doubt also, that some of the texts justified some of Wang Mang's methods of action, and others furnished a theoretical basis for a number of his social and political reforms.

This is only one of the many instances of the lasting influence which the Wang Mang *régime* has had in the history of Chinese civilization. One of these disputed texts, the *Chou Li*, deserves special attention because of the tremendous influence it has exerted over social and political thinking throughout later ages. The *Chou Li*, or the "Institutes of Chou," purports to be the political plan of the great Duke of Chou who was an important statesman during the period when the Chou Dynasty was first founded (twelfth century B.C.). In reality, the *Chou Li* was probably written by some unidentified author as a political constitution for a utopian state. It was certainly never mentioned by any one before the Han period, and it was unknown to writers of the second century B.C. It was probably worked out by some political thinker of the Wang Mang period as a utopian scheme of political organization. It divides the government into six parts or departments and describes in minute detail the purpose, function, policy, subdivision and personnel of every department. Probably to show that it was a lost work re-discovered, the sixth part was left unwritten. A number of important political ideas are contained in this utopian constitution. It contains a detailed educational policy which provides education and employment even for the deaf, dumb, blind and crippled; a plan of military organization; a land policy which is quite socialistic; a number of schemes of economic reform, including poor relief, rural credit, governmental monopoly of large industries and of commodities of basic need to the people, and the taxation of the income of the merchants, with a system of national census and economic survey and many other interesting and suggestive schemes.

The *Chou Li* has always been a source of inspiration for political reformers in later ages. It was the basis of the policy of equalization of land attempted by the statesmen of North Wei during the fifth century. It was the political text-book for

most of the reformers of the Sung Dynasty, and especially for the great statesman Wang An-shih (1021–1086), who wrote a commentary on it and whose land policy and economic reforms were largely based upon it. If the *Chou Li* can be proved to have been the deliberate product of the Wang Mang *régime*, then the influence of this little book alone is sufficient to indicate the extent of the indebtedness of later generations to the leaders of the New Dynasty.

III

As I have pointed out, Wang Mang called his dynasty "the New Dynasty"; and he meant to inaugurate a new policy of social and political reform. In the first year of his reign (A.D. 9), he proclaimed three radical reforms, the nationalization of land, equal distribution of land, and abolition of slavery. He explained in a decree:

> The ancients grouped every eight family lots of one hundred mu each with one hundred mu of public land. One man and his wife were given one lot, and the eight families farmed the one hundred mu of public land for the government as their tax to the public treasury. The ratio of taxation was ten per cent, and it prevailed throughout the great epochs of T'ang and Yü and the Three Dynasties.
>
> Ever since the decay of that land system under the misrule of the Ch'in Dynasty, there has been much encroachment of land by rich and greedy people. The strong possess land by the thousands of mu, while the weak have nowhere to place a needle.
>
> And there has arisen the trade in slaves wherein male and female slaves are bought and sold in the same enclosures with cattle and horses. The lives of the slaves are in the hands of the trader and profits are made of them by unscrupulous and cruel people. There has been much exploitation and even kidnapping of women and children for sale. All this is a violation of the Will of Heaven, a transgression of human relationship, and an open breakdown of the principle that man is of the highest worth under heaven.
>
> The Han Dynasty ostensibly reduced the land-tax to the ratio of one-thirtieth. But there was left the poll-tax from which no one, not even the aged and the crippled, is exempt. And the land having passed into the hands of the rich and powerful, poor people have been compelled to rent land from the landowner and share the produce with him. Therefore, although the nominal ratio of taxation was one-thirtieth, the farmer has been paying a rent as high as fifty per cent. Very often the hard toil of a whole family, including those of the women and children, will not yield enough for their own subsistence. As a necessary consequence, the dogs and horses in the rich families have enough food and to spare, while the poor have not enough grain-husks to fill their stomachs. The rich have become arrogant and are living in licentiousness, and the poor are being driven into criminality by their poverty.
>
> Before I ascended the throne, I had ordered all land to be nationalized and divided into equal lots (of 900 mu each). The inauguration of this new policy apparently met with the favour of Heaven, for there were propitious signs in the form of strangely abundant grains. Unfortunately a rebellion broke out and the reforms were postponed for a time.
>
> I hereby decree that all land in the Empire shall be henceforth known as 'the Emperor's land' [literally 'Wang's land' (王田), Wang being his family name and also meaning 'king']; that all male and female slaves shall be called 'private retainers' (私屬); and that neither land nor retainers shall be bought and sold by the people. It is further decreed that any family having not more than eight male adults and possessing over eight hundred *mu*, shall distribute the superfluous land among their fellow-clansmen, neighbours and fellow-citizens. All those who had no land before, shall receive their due share in accordance with the law.

> Any one who dares oppose the Land Policy or who dares mislead the people and violate the law, shall be exiled to the distant land of the barbarians…" (Han Shu, Bk. 99b, cf. Bk. 24a).

It must be understood that these radical measures were not actuated by a mere desire of a usurping ruler to gain the favour of the populace. They were probably sincerely proposed as solutions to problems which had troubled the minds of statesmen for a long time. Towards the end of the second century B.C., the Confucian scholar Tung Chung-shu (董仲舒) had advocated practically the same radical reforms. He proposed to the Emperor Wu Ti that slavery should be abolished, that killing of slaves by their owners should be prohibited by law, and that, although it might not be possible to enforce an equal distribution of land, a limit should be set to the amount owned by any one individual (*Han Shu*, Bk. 24a). A little over a century after the death of Tung Chung-shu, during the reign of Ai Ti (6–1 B.C.), when Wang Mang was in retirement, the Prime Minister K'ung Kuang (孔光) and the emperor's tutor, Shih Tan (师丹), proposed that a decree should be issued to limit private ownership of land to 3,000 μ, that the number of slaves should be limited to 200 for each prince, duke or marquis; 100 for any other hereditary lord and for each princess; and 30 for any other official or private individual. The Emperor was willing to issue the decree, but his mother's family and his own favourite companion found this measure to be highly inconvenient to their interests and persuaded him to withhold the proclamation. Wang Mang's reforms, therefore, were merely a continuation and a culmination of a long line of political thought dating back at least to the early years of the Han Dynasty. Only he found the policy of limitation to be inadequate and he went a step further, abolishing slavery and private ownership of land altogether.

The execution of such a gigantic national scheme was exceedingly difficult in those days of inadequate transportation and communication. But it seems clear that there was some earnest attempt to enforce the new law, for history records that "numberless persons including members of the nobility as well as private citizens were convicted for the sale and purchase of land and slaves" (Bks. 24a and 99b). The law lasted until 3 years later, when Wang Mang repealed it by a decree. He had been told by Ou Po (区博) that even the sage-rulers of ancient ages could not carry out these radical reforms without a 100 years of gradual preparation. And 3 years of experimentation had convinced him of the truth of this statement. So in the year A.D. 12 he decreed that owners of the "emperor's land" might sell it, and that prosecutions for the selling and buying of slaves should cease. In a later decree dated A.D. 17 he imposed a tax on slave-owners at the rate of 3,600 cash per slave.

IV

In the meantime Wang Mang had proclaimed another series of important reforms. They were known as the "Six State Controls" (六) or "Six State Monopolies," relating to

1. Salt,
2. Wine,
3. Iron,
4. Mines and other natural resources,
5. Coinage,
6. The "Five Equalizations" (五均) including banking and credit.

Some of these were not new in Wang Mang's time. State monopoly of coinage became effective about the year 118 B.C. From that date to the beginning of the Christian era, the government mint had coined over 28,000,000,000 cash of a uniform type, which, because of its technical perfection, it was impossible for makers of counterfeit money to imitate. Wang Mang's policy was to replace this uniform coinage with a series of graded monies. His theory of gradation was sound, but he worked out too complicated a system of money utilizing five different kinds of material (gold, silver, tortoise-shell, mother-of-pearl, and copper), six categories, and 28 grades! The whole system failed almost entirely, the people accepting only the two copper coins of the value of one and fifty cash respectively.

Salt and iron had also been government monopolies ever since 119 B.C. Both had been the chief sources of governmental revenue for over a 100 years. There were 28 districts with salt monopolies and forty with iron monopolies. Wang Mang merely continued the policy and made full use of the existing machinery.

The other monopolies were innovations under his régime. The working of the wine monopoly is described in detail in Bk. 24b of the *Han Shu*. After deducting all costs of materials, the gross profit was divided into ten parts, of which three went into salaries and other expenses, and seven into the government treasury.

The operation of minerals and other natural resources was conducted, not by any strict form of government monopoly, but by private concerns regulated by the Government. The operators must register with government offices at the different localities and report all profits to them. Ten per cent of the net profit must go to the government.

The most interesting feature in the programme of economic reform under the New Dynasty was the so-called "Five Equalizations," which need some explanation in detail. They were chiefly directed to stabilizing the prices of commodities in general use. They may be characterized as a governmental control of trade in useful goods operated for the benefit of the general public. The surplus profit was to be used in loans to the farming and working classes.

The organization for this purpose consisted of seven directorates stationed at seven of the commercial centres of the Empire, namely, Ch'ang-an (长安) East, Ch'ang-an West, Lo-yang, Han-tan (邯鄲), Wan (宛), Lin-tsê (临淄), and Ch'êng-tu. Under each directorate there were five Trade Commissioners and one Commissioner on Banking and Credit. Each directorate was to be in charge of the five "equalizations," which are described in the *Han Shu*.

1. *The determination of the equitable price of commodities*. "Each directorate shall use the second month of each season for the determination of the equitable price of the commodities under its management. It shall note down the highest, lowest,

and the mean price of each commodity in each district. The mean price shall be the equitable price of that particular locality and shall not be applied to the places where the other directorates are situated."

2. *The buying of unsold goods from the market*. "The Office of Equalization shall buy up all such goods as wheat, rice and other food-stuffs, cloth, silk and silk-fabrics,—goods which are needed by the people for everyday use, but which the merchants have not been able to sell at a particular time. The cost price shall be paid to the dealers in order to insure them against loss."
3. *The stabilization of prices*. "As soon as the price of any of these useful commodities rises one cash beyond the 'equitable price' for that particular season, the Equalization Office shall sell out its accumulated stock at the equitable price so that the people may be protected against those who make extravagant profit by cornering the supplies and manipulating the market."
4. *Loans without interest*. "Persons who need ready money for funeral, burial and sacrificial purposes, may be given loans by the Commissioner of Credit from the proceeds of trade. Such loans shall be without interest, but must be paid within the specified period of time. Loans for sacrificial use shall be paid within 10 days; those for burials and funerals, within 3 months."
5. *Loans to be used as working capital*. "Poor people who need capital to start productive work, may also secure loans from the Commissioner of Credit who shall charge them a moderate rate of interest." According to Bk. 99b of the *Han Shu*, the ratio was 3% per month; but according to Bk. 24b, it was "not to exceed an annual interest of 10 %."

These were the Five Equalizations. It is important to note that there was a clear and conscious political philosophy behind all these economic reforms. Wang Mang issued a decree in the year A.D. 10 in which he said in part: "I have now inaugurated the loans to the people, the Five Equalizations and the various state controls, all aiming at an equitable distribution of goods among the people to protect them from being encroached upon by the rich and strong." Seven years later, he issued another decree to explain further the purpose of the Six Controls which now included the Five Equalizations. He said: "Salt is the chief seasoning of all food. Wine is the leading accompaniment of medicine and the favourite beverage in all gatherings of conviviality. Iron is the basis of all agricultural implements. Mines and forests are the store houses of national wealth. The object of price-stabilization and banking is to protect the people and supply their needs. Money and coinage furnish the necessary medium of exchange. None of these six can be operated by the average citizen, who must depend upon the professional trader for the satisfaction of these needs. Therefore he becomes the victim of economic exploitation and must accept whatever price the rich and the strong are pleased to dictate to him. The sages of the ancient times realized all this evil and resolved to check it by means of governmental control."

How exceedingly modern these words read today! These two edicts certainly deserve to be ranked as the earliest conscious statement of the theory of state socialism in the history of the social and political thought of mankind.

But Wang Mang and his scholarly assistants were nineteen centuries ahead of their time. In an empire almost as large as the modern China Proper, without modern facilities of governmental check and control, they were destined to fail in their ambitious schemes of economic and political reform. There were not enough men trained to carry out these highly complicated undertakings. Those who were employed for this work were largely shrewd merchants and capitalists of Lo-yang and Shantung who were more interested in raising revenues to please the new emperor than in caring for the welfare of the people. And above all, these great capitalists whose names are preserved in the *Han Shu*, were most keenly interested in making money for themselves at the expense of the people and to the discredit of the government.

The net result of it all was the rise of banditry and insurgency everywhere throughout the Empire. And the New Empire fell in A.D. 23. Wang Mang was much worried in his last years. He thought that "peace would reign in the world when institutions were perfected." So he devoted all his time to thinking out new plans for institutional reform. Very often he worked whole nights till daybreak. During the last year of his life, he lost his appetite and lived on wine and salted sea fish. When he felt overtired, he would fall asleep while sitting at his desk. He no longer slept in bed. The city of Ch'ang-an fell on the third day of the tenth month (November 4) in A.D. 23. He was killed by a merchant named Tu Wu and his body was dismembered among a number of soldiers of the victorious army. And for nineteen centuries his name was a curse. No historian, however liberal, has ever said a word in his defence.

Revised in February, 1951.

Chapter 6
Conflict of Cultures

Yuan and Delafield note that this article also appears in China Christian Year-book, 1929. pp. 112–121. Prepared for the Fourth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Hangchow and Shanghai, China, October 21 to November 2, 1931. This article was later developed into a Chinese essay entitled, "Shiping suowei zhongguo benwei de wenhua jianshe." First appeared in Duli Pinglun, April, 1935, No. 145, pp. 4–7; later included in Hu Shih Wencun IV, pp. 535–540; also see Duli Pinglun, No. 142, Editorial Notes.

I have taken for my subject the cultural conflict in China. May I begin by telling a little story of the Siccawei Observatory which you visited this afternoon? As you know, this observatory of Siccawei had its historic origin in the Jesuit Movement of the seventeenth century. The Jesuits, amongst whom the most prominent was Matteo Ricci, first arrived in China about 1600 A.D. and brought with them three things.

They found out that the best way to approach those powerful eunuchs who were controlling the Government was through the offering of clocks, the newest then made in Europe. These exquisite mechanisms were regarded as great inventions of the time and were readily accepted by the Chinese. That was the first thing.

Next they learned that in order to conquer the resistance of the intellectual class, they must convince it of the superiority of their own learning; so they brought with them the best trained scientists. Among these were included especially astronomers, because at that time the whole Chinese nation was engaged in a controversial discussion of the reform of the calendar which had been in use for 270 years and was no longer accurate in the prediction of the eclipses or other stellar phenomena. So the first Jesuits were all trained in the astronomical science, and Matteo Ricci,

Chapter Note: Bruno Lasker, ed., Problems of the Pacific, 1931. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. pp. 471–477; 499.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_6, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

the greatest of them, was the favorite pupil of Father Clavius, who was one of the chief authors of the Gregorian Calendar.

Thirdly, they wanted, of course, to proselyte the Chinese to Christianity.

So we have first, mechanical invention; second, astronomical science; and third, the Christian religion. The fate of these three gifts will illustrate the thesis I am going to present today. The eunuchs were very much pleased with the clocks which they regarded as tributes to China from these foreign nations. But it took the Jesuits many years before they succeeded in convincing the Chinese scholars of the time that they were in possession of a new astronomical science which could assist China in the reform of the calendar. At that time there were four groups of astronomers in this country: first, there were the Imperial astronomers in charge of the old calendar; second, a Mohammedan school had become established whose principles were recognized as useful supplements to the astronomical science, and who had had a separate observatory; third, one native scholar, Wei Wen-kwei, had offered a new system of calendar reform and had been given an independent observatory; and lastly there was introduced this new school of the West. These four schools were fighting for ascendency, and the Government adopted a wise policy of assigning to them four different offices or observatories with the aim of letting their actual results be the basis of judgment. So from 1629 to 1643, a period of about 15 years, these four schools of astronomy were subjected to careful examination as to their relative merits in the prediction of sun and moon eclipses, and other heavenly phenomena.

On all occasions, the Jesuit Fathers were the most accurate. All the astronomical offices tried to prepare tables for the prediction of eclipses, and the results showed the methods of the foreigners to be the most exact. Sometimes, these Jesuit astronomers feared that clouds might spoil the test, so they made predictions of eclipses in Peking, Szechuan, Honan, and Shansi, and asked the Emperor to send out special observers to such stations to time the occurrence of the eclipses. In the case of one moon eclipse on February 22, 1636, all three provinces reported that the Jesuit prediction was exact to the second, while the forecasts by the other astronomical observatories all proved to be inaccurate. Such keenly competitive tests went on and, in every case, the scientific triumph of the Jesuits over the other schools was complete. After 14 years of careful observation, the science brought by the Jesuits was finally recognized by the Government, and a new calendar worked out by these Jesuit astronomers was in 1643 officially proclaimed the calendar of the Ming Dynasty. The Ming Dynasty fell in 1644; but the Jesuit calendar was adopted by the Manchus and became the official calendar of the Manchu Dynasty. A monument of that victory for scientific astronomy has remained to our days in the form of the Siccawei Observatory.

But the third gift, the religion of these Westerners, was accepted only by the few—only those who came into contact with that remarkable leader, Matteo Ricci, and his associates. These few later succeeded in converting large numbers of people and almost converted one emperor. But opposition soon arose, and it was largely this opposition on religious grounds that caused the decline of the Jesuits' influence. So, out of three things they brought to China, mechanical invention was the most readily accepted; science was accepted when its accuracy had been demonstrated; and religion was the last to be accepted, and only within the narrowest limits.

When we talk about a cultural conflict it always means a graded absorption of the various elements of cultural impact; some are more readily accepted, some are accepted after hesitation, and some are never accepted. Cultural change or growth is the natural result of a contact of peoples. When nations come together it is the most natural thing for one to take from the other those elements that are most advantageous to its own culture. Historically, the invading people as well as the invaded usually took those elements which they needed most. The exchange was usually beneficial to both sides. There is no conflict when a people freely chooses from a visiting culture those elements which it wants.

A cultural conflict occurs only where the native culture offers resistance to an invading culture; and the intensity of the conflict is in direct ratio to the strength of the resistance on the one hand and the force of the invasion on the other. The Jesuit movement in China is a good illustration. The resistance to the Western science of astronomy was overcome after 15 years of competitive tests in accuracy and exactness. The resistance is weakest in the case of a mechanical invention, as in the case of the clocks, which promises an immediate, tangible improvement. But the contact of the Christian religion with the native beliefs of China produced the strongest power of resistance to which the new religion finally succumbed.

Resistance occurs only when there is a counterpart in the native civilization that is good enough for the particular people at the particular moment. Some years ago, when I was a student in America, I visited in the home of an American friend who was working in the laboratory of a great chemical plant at Niagara Falls. One day he said to me, "The director of our laboratory is a real pragmatist. He has a great formula for dealing with new inventions. Suppose a new method is invented by some unknown scientist for the manufacture of the same kind of chemical product that we manufacture, and a patent is granted, then it is to the interest of our laboratory to buy the patent rights. If the new method can easily be put into operation the existing processes will be abandoned; but if the new process is too expensive for us to take over, then we are justified, he says, to shelve it after having paid for the patent rights. He justifies this practice with the formula, 'The better is the enemy of the good.'" I was horrified by this interpretation of pragmatism, but this formula amused me, because it is exactly that of cultural resistance. It is the opposite way of putting the usual formula, "The good enough is the greatest enemy of the better." In all cases of cultural resistance we meet this element of the good enough—good enough for us, for our fathers, for our country; why should we give up the good enough for something that in the long run may turn out no better, after all? That philosophy is not applied, of course, in those cases where there is no "good enough" counterpart in a native culture.

This general formula of cultural conservatism, while it explains much of the long resistance on the part of China to the civilization of the West, is not adequate when we look back into Chinese history. China did accept a great many cultural elements from her neighbors. She did accept a religion from a neighbor and made it one of her three great religions. If China could be so generous and big-hearted as to accept a religion which penetrates every phase of life and which is opposed to the ancient culture of the country, how is it that she so long resists a civilization which is certainly

far more useful than Buddhism? There must be something deeper than the general inertia of cultures.

A friend of mine recently published an article in which he tried to offer a suggestion which is illuminating on this point. He said that although in the past China had more than once been conquered by the barbarians of the North, somehow those conquests were never accompanied by cultural conquests. Those barbarian invaders were soon absorbed by the civilization of ancient China. Then, when China did accept the Buddhist religion from India, together with all its art, ritualism and philosophy, that religion was not thrust upon us by a big army or a big navy. Not a single soldier crossed the border. China was willing to accept a great religion and a great philosophy without fear of military invasion behind it. But today for the first time we have been forced to face a new situation. We are facing a race which combines mechanical, scientific, technological invention with superior military strength. A great civilization is behind the military strength, and the great military strength is behind this apparently highly advanced civilization. This is a new situation. We cannot acknowledge the superiority of this culture of the West without at the same time feeling resentment over the necessity of submitting to its military force. The psychology of not being able to swallow this situation is behind all the apologetic reasons advanced against accepting the civilization of the West.

But we may go a step farther and ask, apart from the general explanation on the basis of the natural inertia of civilizations, apart from this historic situation of the fear of the military strength behind the apparently advanced civilization, are there not intrinsic and objective differences between the Chinese and the Western civilization which make the latter difficult for us to accept? I think there are, and I shall outline only a few.

In the first place, this new civilization from the West has brought to us an entirely new conception of economic life—the conception which elevates the position of the merchant. That was the first thing the Chinese could not swallow. In the past, our own traditional place of the merchant has been very low—higher only than that of the soldier. The mechanic and the farmer were above both. The merchant who does nothing but reap unearned increment, through usury and commerce without labor, found his position almost the lowest in society. Here in the new civilization, the merchant was seen to be elevated almost to the highest position; usury, commerce and business in this system are regarded as legitimate and respectable. That was one of the first shocks to the Chinese. It would take a long time for the Chinese to acquire a new conception of this economic situation, a long time to appreciate the function of the merchant and business man in society, the function of transporting goods from the place of production to those places where it is needed most. The utility of exchange, transportation, communication, the idea of creating new wants as an element in civilization, almost never occurred to economists of ancient China, which was chiefly agricultural. Usury was condemned because farmers suffered from it; commerce for the same reason. Agriculture had been the only orthodox economic system. This, then, has been one of the chief obstacles to the ready appreciation of this new civilization. It will take a long time to make the people realize that this new civilization which elevates the merchant and recognizes usury

has also made it possible to lower the interest on money loans from 50 or 100% down to 3%. It will take a long time for this people to appreciate the aid which this civilization can render to the agricultural population.

There is also a fundamental difference in the conception of law, of government. It has been said in this Conference that the Chinese are governed by the concept of justice, while the West is governed by the concept of law. Law as the West understands it has practically no place in this country. When the first coded law was published in the fifth century B.C., Confucius, the founder of orthodox moral and political philosophy in this country, opposed it because he was very near the feudal system under which the upper classes were governed by a code of honor and the masses were governed by penalties. It would have been a degradation to subject the upper classes to law. The concept of law itself was opposed to their thinking. Although there was a time when Chinese philosophers were trying to idealize a government by law, it was never accepted by orthodox thinking. So the whole system in orthodox China still is to regard law as something good only for the punishment of law breakers and evildoers; and if that is the purpose of law, it has nothing to do with the upper classes, the gentlemen. It should be allowed to stand as a guidance only for the punishment of the evildoers. And since it is only for the evildoers, we should apply the most drastic measures for the detection of crimes and for their punishment, while a gentleman must be governed by consideration for others, the code of honor and morality.

Law was never accepted by orthodox thinkers in China. The professional lawyer was never legitimately recognized until recent decades. Law was never taught in the Chinese schools of old. Lawsuits were tried by magistrates trained in a purely bookish classical education. They had no idea of a legal procedure based on evidence. If the law were only meant for evildoers and law breakers, why should one refrain from using torture to obtain a confession? The absence of carefully trained judges who would go out of the way to seek evidence and justice, the absence of scientific detection systems, the absence of public defense by trained lawyers, and the prevalence of torture, lynching, etc., to force a confession from the criminals—all these naturally made law a horror in the eyes of the people. And all these made it very difficult for the people to acquire the conception of government by law as a necessarily slow and painstaking process of presentation of evidence and judgment on the basis of evidences proffered.

So there has grown up a reliance on the primitive sense of justice, but not on law, because we all know that law is no sure way of securing justice. At least it is the last method to secure speedy justice. This desire for speedy justice has made many people, including the Chinese, tend to disregard the regular procedures of the law and seek other means of gratifying their desire for justice. A recent case will illustrate: there was a case of suicide of a young woman who was living in the home of an official, but her family suspected that it was not suicide. Suit was brought by her relatives against the official on a charge of murder. It got into the newspapers and was quite a sensational case for weeks. Then public opinion began to demand justice. The military governor thought it was his duty as the Governor of the Province to take up this matter of justice; so he disregarded all regular procedure of the courts

and summoned a trial in his presence. He was criticized by the newspapers and by those who thought a military governor should not interfere with the law courts; but somehow he became very popular among the people who had no use for this slow process of appealing and reappealing.

This primitive sense of justice coupled with a traditional suspicion toward the law is, I think, one of the basic obstacles which China has had great difficulty in overcoming in her efforts to bring about a modern government by law. It will probably take a long time for the people to acquire the patience necessary to wait for a court to go through the all too slow processes of law.

The third obstacle is probably a fundamental intellectual difference. It seems that these two peoples, the Chinese and the Europeans, have from very early beginnings been quite different in the direction of their intellectual development. You will remember the early Egyptian mathematicians; Plato, writing on his door, "One who knows no geometry is not educated"; Euclid, almost a contemporary of Mencius, who perfected geometry; and Archimedes who laid the foundation for mechanics at about the same time. If you seek the Chinese contemporaries of Archimedes, Plato and Euclid, you will find that even in those days they were already working in different intellectual spheres—one in social philosophy and political systems, the other playing with figures, tools, mechanics and machines.

We are proud of the scientific development of scholarship during the seventeenth century in China. Yet when we compare the work of that century in China and the intellectual work of the same period in Europe, we find a fundamental difference. While Chinese scholars were trying to reconstruct the ancient pronunciation of a word by really scientific methods—one man gave 162 evidences to prove the ancient pronunciation of one word—Galileo was using the telescope to discover new stars in the heavens. And while another Chinese was trying to demonstrate scientifically which chapters of the *Book of History* (*Shu King*) were forgeries, in Europe van Leeuwenhoek with his microscope marked two great advances in that century and helped to lay the foundation for the new science of Europe. It was the same period which laid the basis for a scientific scholarship in China. But you will find that, while one people was working with objects of nature and with mechanical aids to the senses, the other was working on paper, on literary documents. This, I think, is another fundamental difference. We have been laying stress on literary education, which has practically disabled us from taking an interest in objects in nature. We have failed in conquering nature because we have paid too much attention to documents. Literary education versus natural science—this sharp distinction between the two cultures makes it difficult for those trained in the old literary education to accept this new education, to look at test tubes, to boil unpleasant liquids, and the like. The method of "going to things" was advocated by some of our philosophers but was never seriously put into practice. So here we have a third difference—the difference in intellectual life, which may be traced back to those early days of Democritus and Confucius and Mencius. It will take us a long time to get away from the books and documents and acquire an aptitude for work on objects and machines.

I have tried to explain this resistance of a culture from a historic point of view. After all this explanation, the cultural conflict is still there. What are we to do about it?

There are only three roads open—to resist it, to adopt it whole-heartedly, or to take a middle course—what is called "selective assimilation." Resistance is no longer talked about today, because for the last 80 years we have learned the futility of resisting Western civilization; but there is still a great deal of talk about this attitude of selective assimilation. It sounds the most reasonable of all: we ought to select those elements which are useful and reject those elements which are harmful. This seems the most reasonable attitude; and yet when you come to analyze it, it is a subterfuge, a refuge behind which the old resistance shelters itself, a new disguise for the same old conservatism. After all, culture is usually one, is a whole; and if you take this attitude—as has been proposed by some Chinese statesmen—namely, that Chinese learning must be the basis on which the useful learning of the West may be made to function, on the theory that Western civilization is materialistic and Chinese culture is spiritual, you will be compelled to drop all steps of modernization; for, when you assign all the basic functions in the social and cultural life to the old and allow only the superficial external things to this invading civilization, you are really taking the same attitude as those old reactionaries who resisted this new civilization in *toto*.

My own attitude is that we must unreservedly accept this modern civilization of the West because we need it to solve our most pressing problems, the problems of poverty, ignorance, disease and corruption. These are the real enemies we are facing, and none of these can be subjugated by the old civilization. After all, we do not reject a precious stone simply because it comes from the quarries of Italy or Greece; so the social thinkers must not reject any element of culture because it comes from an invading race. We need every stone from every quarry to build. Japan, in the early days of the reform, took over Western civilization whole-heartedly; and Japan has no reason to regret it, because in that short period of whole-hearted modernization she has succeeded in solving some of the most serious problems of national defense and economic poverty. When we have health and wealth and leisure, then we can talk about the preservation of our old traditions. And I am convinced the old traditions will not be lost even when we take an extreme view of the need for modernization, because civilizations are conservative, by their nature. By the natural inertia of cultures, the vast majority will take good care of those traditional values. But it behooves the leaders to go as far as they can in order that they may bring the masses to move a few steps farther in the direction of solving the most urgent problems of the nation by means of every instrumentality which this new world civilization can offer.

Chapter 7
The Establishment of Confucianism as a State Religion During the Han Dynasty

This paper is an attempt to tell the story of the vicissitudes of Confucianism during the second and first centuries before the Christian era, and to point out the real nature of the resultant religion which was elevated to be the state religion of the Empire and which has since influenced the Chinese nation for the last twenty centuries.

I

When the First Emperor of Ts'in conquered the whole of China and created the first Chinese Empire, he and his great generals and ministers were quite antagonistic to the numerous philosophical schools which had flourished during the period of Contending States. The age of idle speculation had passed and the problem of the day was how to govern the newly created empire. They abolished all the hereditary principalities and divided the empire into 36 districts or provinces. They built state roads throughout the empire; standardized the form of the written language and unified the system of weights and measures. These gigantic policies of empire-building were often met with adverse criticism from the conservative scholars, and the government had to resort to drastic measures of persecution in order to suppress opposition. Nearly 500 were killed by being buried alive, and in the year 213 B.C., the Government ordered that all books owned by private individuals should be burned.

Chapter Note: Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1929. Vol. LX. pp. 20–41.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_7, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

The famous edict of book-burning says: "All histories not kept in the Imperial archives should be burned; all books outside the Imperial Doctorate College should be delivered to the local magistrates to be burned in their presence. Only books on medicine, divination and agriculture are exempt from this order. All who dare to hold open discussion on the forbidden books are liable to capital punishment. All who uphold the ancients to criticize the present regime should be punished by death."[1]

The First Empire lasted only 15 years (221–206 B.C.). After 7 years of terrific wars, the country was again united under the Han Empire. But civil wars did not end until 195 B.C. The long years of revolution and war had devastated the country and the new empire found everything in ruins. "Rice cost 5,000 cash a hundredweight. Half of the population had been swept away by war and famine. The Imperial Government had to issue a decree permitting the people to sell their children and migrate to the western provinces for subsistence. The Imperial Court was so poor that it was impossible to find four horses of the same colour for the Emperor's carriage, and the ministers and generals had often to ride in ox-carts."[2]

They were hard times indeed. What was needed was not positive and meddlesome reforms, but peace and order to allow the people to live and recuperate. So the early statesmen of Han practised the policy of peace and *laissez faire*, and scholars and thinkers tended to exalt the philosophy of Taoism which taught non-action and non-interference with Nature. In some instances, this promotion of Taoist philosophy was consciously done. Ts'ao Ts'an (曹参), one of the early Prime Ministers of the empire, was a disciple of the Taoist Kai Kung (盖公) and consciously practised the political philosophy of *laissez faire*. During his 3 years of Premiership, he was drunk every day, and when his subordinates came to him to make new proposals, he made them drink to intoxication to prevent them from talking about their new schemes.[3] Another Taoist ruler was the Empress Dowager Tou (窦) (d. 135 B.C.), who was the most powerful political figure for 40 years. She made it a rigid requirement for all her children and grandchildren to study the philosophy of Laotze.[4]

The dominating school of thought during the first 70 years of the Han Dynasty, therefore, was Taoism. Taoism is a term invented about this time to designate that great eclecticism which was taking place during the second century B.C. and which attempted to embrace all the essential doctrines of the various schools of thought that had flourished during the preceding age of philosophical speculation. The central position of this eclectic synthesis, however, was the naturalistic philosophy of Laotze and Chuangtze as embodied in the conception of "*tao*." Hence the name "Taoism" or "the school of Tao" (道家).

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[1] Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *General History*, Bk. 6.

[2] Pan Ku's *Han Shu*, Bk. 24, Pt. 1.

[3] Pan Ku, Bk. 39.

[4] Pan Ku, Bk. 97, Pt. 1.

The greatest work of this eclectic school is the *Hui Nan Tze* (淮南子), a work compiled by a group of philosophers under the patronage of the Prince of Hui Nan, a grandson of the founder of the Han Dynasty. A more concise statement of the eclectic position is contained in an essay[5] by Ssu-ma T'an (司马谈), father of the great historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien. "The Taoist school," says Ssu-ma T'an, "teaches men to live a life of spiritual concentration and to act in conformity with the unseen ways of Nature. It is all-comprehensive and self-sufficient. Its method consists of observing the seasonal regularities of the natural forces as taught by the astrologers, and in selecting the best elements in the teachings of the Confucianists and Mo-ists and incorporating into itself the essentials of the schools of the Logicians and the Jurists.

"It adapts itself to all times and undergoes all changes in response to all things. It fits in everything. Its tenet is simple and therefore easy to hold. It undertakes few activities, but achieves much.

"The Taoists say, 'Do nothing,' but they also say, 'Nothing is undone.' It sounds subtle, but is in reality easy to work out. Its method lies in postulating nothingness or non-being as the basis of all things and in following natural evolution as the principle of activity. They recognize no ready-made situation, nor constant form; they are therefore able to understand the reality of things. They do not wish to anticipate things too prematurely, nor do they wish to lag behind the times; therefore they are masters of all things."

This is the philosophy of Taoism. It is naturalistic, rationalistic, and fatalistic. It disapproves of revolutionaries and reformers, but it also opposes standpatters. Its political implication is *laissez faire*, allowing Nature to take its own course and abiding by it. As I have pointed out, this attitude suited the temper of the age admirably well, and for nearly three-quarters of a century the people enjoyed peace and throve in prosperity.

Thus says the historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien[6]: "By the first years of the present Emperor (Wu Ti, 140–87 B.C.), that is, about 70 years since the founding of the empire, millions and millions of copper coins had accumulated at the Capital City, so long lying idle that the strings tying them together were rotting away; and the grains in the Imperial granaries were literally overflowing and had to be stored uncovered, with the consequence that the grains soon became rotten and uneatable. The peasants became wealthy and owned horses. Those who rode on mares or young colts were laughed at in respectable society. Gatekeepers lived on fine food and meat. Petty officers held office long enough to see their grandchildren grow up, and often named their families after their offices.

"During this time, the law had become lax and the people rich. The wealthy people grew powerful and arrogant and there was exploitation. Their words were law in their localities. The nobles owned much land, and all grand officials rivalled one another in luxury and extravagance."

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[5] Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Bk. 130.

[6] Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Bk. 30; also Pan Ku, Bk. 24, Pt. 1.

From this contemporary testimony, we can see that a new age had come—an age of material prosperity, of capitalism and luxury. The time was ripe for a more positive political programme and imperialistic expansion. The essentially negative philosophy of Taoism which taught resignation to Nature, was no longer adequate to meet the new temper of a new age. The stage was set for the ascendency of the more positive moral and political philosophy of Confucianism.

II

The Han Dynasty was the first dynasty to be founded by men arising from the lowly classes. The first emperor was a drunkard and an unscrupulous rascal. Some of his great generals were one time butchers and riff-raffs. They had no respect for the scholarly class. The first emperor was noted for his dislike of the Confucianist scholars and for the most contemptuous ways with which he treated them. He would take off the hat of a Confucian scholar and soil it with filth.[7] He would receive a Confucian visitor while having two women washing his feet. He detested the sight of the flowing robe of the scholarly class, and those Confucian teachers who sought to enter his service had to wear short jackets to avoid his ridicule.[8]

But Confucian scholars were useful persons at a time of empire-building, for they knew the historical tradition and were versed in the social and religious ceremonies. They knew the laws and institutions and could talk about statecraft with a wealth of historical illustrations. All this was useful to the new warlords who were aspiring to be empire-builders. When the scholar Lu Chia (陆贾)[9] quoted Confucian classics in the presence of the first emperor, he was cut short by this scolding: "You fool, I have conquered the empire on horseback, what use have I for your classics?" To this, Lu Chia retorted: "Yes, Sire, you have conquered the empire on horseback, but can you govern it on horseback?" The emperor thought that there was something in that, and told him to write a book on why the Ts'ins lost their empire to him. The book was duly written and read to the emperor chapter by chapter. He was pleased and gave it the title "The New Book" which is preserved to this day.

Another episode[10] is still more important in the history of Confucianism in the early years of the empire. When the emperor was first proclaimed, all old rules of court etiquette had been swept away by the new class of generals and nobles who were of very lowly origin and had no manners. They quarrelled and fought one another at court banquets, and when they got drunk, they shouted and drew their swords and struck the walls and pillars. The emperor felt quite uncomfortable and was greatly annoyed.

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[7] Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Bk. 37; Pan Ku, Bk. 3.

[8] Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Bk. 39; Pan Ku, Bk. 43.

[9] Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Bk. 37; Pan Ku, Bk. 43.

[10] Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Bk. 39; Pan Ku, Bk. 43.

Thereupon Shu-sen T'ung (叔孙通), the Confucianist, offered to work out a system of court etiquette for the maintenance of order. The emperor said, "Very well. Try to do it. But make it easy to understand and easy for me to perform." So Shu-sen T'ung sent for 30 odd Confucianist scholars from Lu (Shantung), the native state of Confucius, and with the aid of these and his own pupils, he began his work of a new ceremony for the Imperial Court. When it was completed, he brought those scholars to the outskirts of the city and made them practise the ceremony in a mock court. After a month of practice, the emperor was invited to see the performance. "I can do it," said the emperor, and he made his whole court learn it.

On the first day of the tenth month of the year 200 B.C., the whole court met to celebrate the completion of the new Palace of Everlasting Bliss. The new ceremony was put into practice with full imperial splendour and pomposity, and the whole thing went through in perfect solemnity and orderliness. The Imperial Censor supervised the whole ceremony and wine was stopped after being passed around nine times. There was no boisterousness nor unbecoming conduct. When it was over, the emperor said, "To-day I begin to appreciate the honour and the pleasure of being emperor!"

Shu-sen T'ung was made the Imperial Master of Ceremonies and was rewarded 500 pounds of gold. At his request, all his scholarly co-workers were given petty offices. When he left the palace, he distributed the 500 pounds of gold among his pupils who were much pleased and shouted: "Master Shu-sen is a sage; he knows what the time needs!" Five years later, the emperor, touring through the Shantung region, worshipped at the tomb of Confucius and sacrificed a sheep, a pig and an ox.

Shu-sen T'ung later became the tutor to the heir-apparent upon whose accession to the throne he was again made the Imperial Master of Ceremonies, and most of the early institutes concerning ceremony and ritual of public function and religious worship were devised by him.

These episodes, which all happened in the first years of the empire, illustrate the practical utility of the teaching and training of the Confucian School and explain the reason why Confucianism was able to force itself into political power in spite of the indifference of an illiterate royalty and wild nobility which despised scholarship and learning, and inspite of the hostility of the Taoist philosophers who wanted *laissez faire* and non-action.

But the time was not yet propitious for the adoption of the meddlesome and paternalistic teachings of the Confucian school. There was a reaction against the absolutism of the Ts'in Empire, and men began to be suspicious of positive political reforms. More peace and less law, that was the desire of the age.

When the founder of the Han Dynasty took possession of the Ts'in Empire, he abolished all the minute laws of the old regime and pledged that he would retain only three articles, namely that murder should be punished by death and that robbery and injury of person should be dealt with due penalties.[11] This masterly

[11] Pan Ku, Bk. 23.

stroke of judicial simplification was met with hearty acclamation from the people and the new conqueror was hailed as the liberator of the oppressed. The empire soon found it necessary to develop a "Code in Nine Chapters," but it was a simple code and during the reign of the first three generations little attempt was made to make it over-elaborate.

The tendency of the empire in the early decades was to secure peace at any cost and allow the people to recuperate from their past suffering. During the 23 years (179–157 B.C.) of Wen Ti, there was not a single addition to the palace buildings, court retinue or the emperor's stable. He abolished corporal punishment and towards the end of his reign there were every year only a few 100 cases of capital penalty in the whole empire. He promoted agriculture by farming his own farm, and the empress raised silk-worms in the imperial palace. Taxation was reduced every year and in 167 B.C. the land tax was abolished altogether.[12]

When the young emperor Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.) came to the throne at the age of 17, there was a movement, led by his Prime Minister, Wei Wan (卫绾), to give precedence to the teachings of the Confucian school over those of the other schools and to introduce to the Court more prominent Confucian scholars. This did not please the aged Grand Empress Dowager Tou, who was a devout believer of the Taoist teachings, and who was then acting as regent for the youthful emperor. The Confucian scholars attempted to overthrow her regency but failed. She arrested two of the Confucian leaders and put them in prison where they committed suicide. The other prominent Confucian leaders were dismissed.[13]

It was not until the death of the Empress Dowager in 135 B.C. that the Confucianist Movement was fully revived. A year before her death, the government had established an exclusively Confucianist College of Doctors, reducing the personnel of the old Doctorate College and limiting it to five faculties each specializing in one of the five Classics, namely, the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Poetry*, the *Book of History*, the *I Li* and the *Ch'un Ch'iu* with the Kung-yang Commentary. In 125 B.C., at the suggestion of the Confucianist Prime Minister, Kung-sen Hung (公孙弘), each Classical Faculty at the Doctorate College was to have a limited number of students selected from the different parts of the empire. The number of students was at first limited to 50 for the entire College, but it formed the foundation of the Imperial University which had 3,000 students by the end of the first century B.C. and grew to the size of over 30,000 students in the second century A.D.[14]

But the most important step in the establishment of Confucianism as a national religion, or, more exactly, as a national system of teaching (*chiao*), was the adoption of the Confucianist Classics as the basis of government examinations for civil service. By this time, the written language had long become dead and the

[12] Pan Ku, Bk. 4.

[13] Pan Ku, Bk. 6.

[14] Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Bk. 121; Pan Ku, Bk. 88. Of Wang Kuo-wei, "The Doctorate College of Han and Wei," in his *Collected Works*, Vol. II., pp. 5–29.

edicts and laws written in the classical language were no longer intelligible to the vast majority of the people. It was said that even the petty officers in the government services were often not capable of understanding the language in which were written the public documents of the empire. So in 125 B.C. the Prime Minister, Kung-sen Hung, proposed to the Emperor Wu Ti that in the future all those who could pass an examination in one of the Confucian Classics, should be employed in the various government offices, in the provinces as well as in the Capital City. In all cases, priority should be given to those who read most.[15] This was the beginning of the system of civil service examinations, which, gradually improved and modified, has remained in force for 2,000 years. It was the most effective means of popularizing the knowledge of the Confucian Classics, because in later ages the classical examination practically furnished the only channel of civic advancement to all who were not born great. The government had only to announce the standard requirements for the examinations, and all the people who had some ambition for their sons would manage in every possible way to give them an education in the knowledge of the classics and in the ability of writing expository essays on them. In this way, the Confucian Classics, sometimes chiefly the pre-Confucian texts as mentioned above, and sometimes the post-Confucian text (in particular the so-called Four Books), have remained the principal text-books in all Chinese schools for the whole period of twenty centuries ever since the time of the Emperor Wu Ti.

Wu Ti's reign lasted 53 years, during which many Confucian scholars arose to political prominence. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the great historian, who wrote his great history during the last half of Wu Ti's reign, testified that, since the new educational law of 125 B.C., more and more scholars had entered government service as ministers, high officials and magistrates.[16] The Confucian Doctors in the Imperial College, though low in official rank, always took part in the Court Conferences and played a very important role in the determination of state policies and especially in the drafting and discussion of laws and ceremonies of worship and sacrifice.[17] Truly may it be said that Confucianism was now firmly established as the official religion or orthodox teaching of the empire.

III

Having thus far described the vicissitudes of Confucianism during the first 100 years of the Han Dynasty, we shall now try to see what kind of Confucianism it was that was thus honoured by government recognition and elevated to the position of unrivalled orthodoxy. In order to understand the real content of this newly established

[15] Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Pan Ku, *ibid*. There is a slight variation in the reading of the texts in the two works.

[16] *Op. cit*.

[17] Wang Kuo-wei, *op. cit*., pp. 19–23.

Confucianism, it is necessary to paint a picture of the religious and intellectual background of the age in which this Confucianist movement was taking shape. When we have understood this background, we shall be in a position to appreciate why and how this Confucianism was not at all what Confucius taught or Mencius philosophized about, but was something so different from the original teachings of the School that we must call it "the Han Confucianism" in order to distinguish it from the moral and social teachings of Confucius and Mencius on the one hand and the Neo-Confucianist philosophy of the Sung Dynasty on the other.

The first important element in this religious and intellectual background was the vast number of popular beliefs and occult superstitions of the various races and localities which had been brought together by migration of peoples, by military conquests and, finally, by the formation of the empires of Ts'in and Han. Ts'in people came from the northwest and on their eastward movement brought with them all their primitive worships and shrines, which, when they had conquered the whole of China, became an important part of the religion of the empire. One of these was the worship of a liver-shaped stone or fossil named "Ch'en Pao" (陈宝), which was supposed to have been the transformation of a divine pheasant who became the patron goddess of the Ts'in people and was responsible for all their military conquests over the other nations. Once in every 2 or 3 years, her divine mate, also a pheasant, would pay a visit at her shrine; his arrival was always marked by a peculiar light of red and yellow colour, 40 or 50 ft in length, and by the simultaneous crowing of all pheasants and cocks in the vicinity. When this occurred, the Imperial Priest would sacrifice at the shrine a sheep, a pig and an ox, and send a special messenger by post horses to report the great news to the King, or, in later years, to the Emperor, wherever he might be at the time. According to the great Confucianist scholar Liu Hsiang (刘向, died 6 B.C.), this famous deity's visits to his fossilized consort were officially recorded to have been 151 times between the years 206 and 31 B.C. This, together with the other occult worships of the Ts'in people, continued to be part of the state religion of the two empires and was particularly in vogue during the reign of the Emperor Wu Ti. It was abolished in 31 B.C., but the opposition to its abolition was so great that its worship was reinstated in the following year by a special decree of the Empress Dowager Wang.

There were the primitive worships of the other races which composed the empire. The coastal people of Ch'i (Eastern Shantung) contributed the worship of their pantheon of "Eight Great Gods," which also came into great vogue during the reign of Wu Ti, who traveled many times to Shantung to do homage to them. The chief of these eight gods was called Tien-tsu (天主) or Lord of Heaven, which name was used by the Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century to translate "God"; hence the name "tien tsu chiao" by which Roman Catholicism is known to this day. Later discovery of this lowly pagan origin of the name led to a heated controversy at the Papal court in Rome, and partially contributed to the downfall of the Jesuit movement in China. This story is told in a well-known passage in Robert Browning's great poem, *The Ring and the Book*.

The rich imagination of the coastal people of Ch'i and Yen (modern Shantung and Chihli) made the greatest contribution to the religion of the Chinese nation in

their belief of the existence of *shen-hsien* (神仙) or Immortals who dwelled in the three sacred mountains or islands in the sea. On these islands, it was believed, all birds and beasts were of the white colour, and the dwelling houses were built of silver with gates of gold. There were to be found the Immortals and the elixir of longevity. It was said that these islands had been visited and the Immortals approached by persons of proper devotion and due preparation. Many rulers before the age of the Empires had sent messengers to seek these sacred lands. The First Emperor of Ts'in was a devout believer in this and sent several expeditions with young boys and girls to the sea in search of the Immortals and their magic prescription of prolonged life. The Emperor Wu Ti of Han was determined to succeed in what the great First Emperor of Ts'in had failed. Throughout his long reign of 50 years, he was constantly patronizing this and that alchemist or "methodist" (方士 *fang shih*, the man who had methods or prescriptions for worship or alchemy) in the hope that the Immortals might some day honour him with a visit and bestow on him the gift of longevity.

These were only a few of the vast number of the folk superstitions and practices of the empire. When the founder of the Han Dynasty triumphantly entered the capital of Ts'in, he issued a proclamation saying, "I respect all worships and revere all forms of sacrifice. Therefore, all worship of the Great Gods of Heaven and the gods of the various mountains and rivers shall be continued as before." A few years later (200 B.C.), when the unification of the empire was completed, the city of Ch'ang-an was made the capital of the new empire and all the tribal and local religions and cults were fully represented in the capital, where each sect had its own shrines, priesthoods, and ceremony. There were the Liang Priestesses (梁巫) representing the sects of the western peoples of modern Szechuan; the Tsin Priestesses (晋巫) representing the tribal worships of modern Shensi; the Ts'in Priestesses (秦巫) representing the peoples of modern Shensi and further west; the Chin Priestesses (荆巫) representing the races of the valleys of the Han and the Yangtse, and the River. And when the Emperor Wu Ti conquered the tribes of modern Kwangtung (111 B.C.), the Yueh Priestesses (粤巫) were added to the numerous tribal and local priesthoods at the capital city and were allowed to worship their own gods and spirits and practise their peculiar method of divination by means of chicken bones.[18]

So much for the tribal and provincial cults and superstitions, which the component races of the empire brought to the capital, and which formed integral parts of the state religion as they were all under the control of the Imperial Department of Worship and Sacrifice (祠官). The superstitious Court and populace worshipped indiscriminately in any one of these shrines or temples as fancy or suggestion might lead them.

The founders of the Han Dynasty, as I have described above, were of very lowly origin and naturally subject to all forms of superstition. There were notable exceptions to this generalization, as in the case of Wen Ti and his consort, the Empress Dowager Tou, and their son, the Emperor Ching Ti (157–141 B.C.). But

[18] Pan Ku, Bk. 25.

in general the Court and the Imperial Household were full of ignorant and superstitious persons who gave prestige and popularity to a number of primitive worships which they had embraced before they became great. The most remarkable example of this group of popular cults was the worship of the "Oracular Goddess" (神君) of the City of Ch'ang-an.

There was in the vicinity of Ch'ang-an a young woman who died of child-birth and whose spirit was said often to appear and talk to her sisters-in-law. The sisters began to worship her in their house, which soon became the centre of pilgrimage of the credulous populace. She spoke through one of the women and was known as the "Divine Oracle." It so happened that among her many worshippers there was a lowly woman whose daughter ran away from her husband and was brought to the Imperial Palace where she became a favourite concubine of the heir-apparent and gave birth to a son. The heir-apparent succeeded to the throne and this runaway woman was made empress in 151 B.C. Ten years later her son, who was no other person than the great Wu Ti, became emperor and her lowly mother was given the title of the Grand Lady of Ping-yuen (平原君). Her brother and two half-brothers were made marquises and one of the half-brothers became Prime Minister of the empire. All this sudden good fortune of the family of this lowly woman was naturally attributed to the blessing of the Divine Oracle whose worship was accordingly introduced into the Imperial Household through the devout family of the grandmother of the Emperor Wu Ti. The emperor became a very devout worshipper of the Oracular Goddess, to whom two palaces were dedicated as her shrines. In 118 B.C., while touring the country in search of new shrines of worship and new methods of approaching the Immortals, he fell ill and all the priests and priestesses and alchemists failed to cure him. He sent a messenger to ask the Oracle, who replied: "Tell the Emperor not to worry about his illness. Tell him to get well and join me at Kan-chuan." And the emperor did get well and went to Kan-chuan where he gave a grand banquet in honour of the Oracle and proclaimed a general amnesty for the whole empire.[19]

And all this was done while the emperor was promoting Confucianism as the orthodox teaching of the empire.

This was an age of magic, alchemy and the cult of Immortals, and the emperor Wu Ti was a devotee of all these. A number of alchemists or "methodists" arose to highest political power during his reign. This, of course, gave great impetus to the study of all kinds of occultism. The historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien[20] recorded that when in 110 B.C. the emperor arrived on the coast of Ch'i to pay his homage to the Eight Great Gods, at least 10,000 persons requested him for an opportunity to try out their new prescriptions of worship and alchemy!

But the most fortunate of all the alchemists was Luan Ta (栾大), whose great eloquence and cunning fully convinced the credulous emperor that his wonderful methods could not only make gold out of base metals, not only attract the Immortals and obtain the elixir of everlasting life, but also prevent all future floods of the

[19] Pan Ku, ibid.

[20] *Op. cit*., Bk. 28; Pan Ku, Bk. 25.

Yellow River which had been worrying the Imperial Government for years. He was tested on some of his small tricks which proved to be quite fascinating. So the emperor made Luan Ta a General with the title of Wu Li (五利, Five Utilities). In a little over 1 month, he was given three more generalships, all with fanciful titles. A little later he was made Marquis of Lo-tung, given a palatial mansion, 1,000 slaves and an elaborate set of furniture taken from the emperor's own palace, and above all, was married to the Princess Wei, eldest daughter of the emperor. Ten thousand pounds of gold was sent as the Princess' dowry; the emperor often paid personal visits to his house; and every day messengers bearing new gifts from the palace lined the streets leading to Luan Ta's new mansion. Shortly after, the emperor caused a new jade seal to be carved bearing the inscription "The General of the Guide to Heaven," which was sent to his son-in-law by a special ambassador wearing a mantle of feathers which symbolized the heavenward flight of the immortals. The General of the Guide to Heaven, also wearing a mantle of white feathers, received the jade seal in all solemnity. He received six seals of highest honour in the course of a few months, to the greatest envy of his contemporary scholars of Confucianism. None of his wonderful prescriptions, however, proved to be efficacious, and he was executed in the year 112 B.C., when his deceit was fully discovered.[21]

And this devout patron of Luan Ta, Imperial Son-in-law, Marquis of Lo-tung, General of the Guide to Heaven, etc., etc., was no less a personage than the Emperor Wu Ti, who has been known in history as the ruler that established Confucianism as the orthodox religion of the empire.

Such was the religious and intellectual background of the age. The shrines or temples went on multiplying themselves in number and increasing in splendour and extravagance. By the year 31 B.C. the Prime Minister reported that there were 683 temples in the city of Ch'ang-an and at those localities where were stationed Imperial Priests in charge of the worships; 475 of these were abolished in that year. But they seem to have gradually been revived soon after the abolition. And by the year A.D. 20 there were in the city of Ch'ang-an alone over 1,700 places of government worship. The birds and animals used at one Imperial sacrifice at all the temples numbered over 3,000. In late years it was found so difficult to prepare so many sacrificial animals that cocks were used as substitutes for wild ducks and dogs for deer.[22]

IV

It was in such an atmosphere of occultism and superstition that Confucianism was elevated to be the orthodox system of teaching in the empire. It was impossible for Confucianism and for the Confucian scholars to escape from the contagious influence of this tremendously powerful atmosphere of the popular superstitions. Indeed, a number of the great Confucianists never attempted to escape from it.

[21] Pan Ku, Bk. 25.

[22] Pan Ku, Bk. 25.

Mencius once remarked that Confucius was a timely sage. Confucianism too, was always a timely system of teaching: it always caught up the fashions of the age. Shu-sen Tung, who was the real founder of Confucianism of the Han Empire, was described by his own disciples as a sage that knew what the time needed. The same may be said of a number of the leading Confucianists of the age. Tung Chung-shu (董仲舒), the greatest representative of Confucian thought of the dynasty, was well known in history for his method of praying for rain which consisted in closing all southern gates of the city and forbidding all use of fire while our Confucian philosopher stood on the northern gate spraying the passers-by with drops of water.[23] Another great scholar of the Confucian school Liu Hsiang, was an alchemist believing in the possibility of converting base metals into gold through the magic intervention of spirits; and he was once sentenced to death on the charge that he had deceived the Emperor Hsuan Ti (73–49 B.C.) with his alchemical forgeries.[24]

It is to be expected that the new Confucianism established under the patronage of a ruler of such multifarious and insatiable credulity and under the leadership of such equally credulous scholars—this new Confucianism should be a great synthetic religion into which were fused all the elements of popular superstition and state worships rationalized somewhat in order to eliminate a few of the most untenable elements, and thinly covered up under the disguise of Confucian and Pre-Confucian Classics in order to make them appear respectable and authoritative. In this sense, the new Confucianism of the Han Empire was truly the national religion of China. It was a great conglomeration of popular beliefs and practices of the time through a thin and feeble process of rationalization.

It must be noted that the Five Classics officially recognized were chiefly the Pre-Confucian texts, texts of a Pre-Confucian culture, which the historical sense of the school of Confucius had preserved for posterity. These texts, being largely collections of folk literature, traditional history, divination and social and religious observances, naturally contained numerous references to the primitive superstitions and practices which could be readily linked up with the popular religion of a later age. The post-Confucian texts as well as the other works of the various schools of the philosophical age, were too clear-cut and too much sophisticated to suit this purpose. The establishment of Confucianism at this stage of Chinese national life was, after all, only a case of survival of the fittest.

But even the Pre-Confucian Classics were too simple and too factual to be used alone as basis for this ambitious synthesis of the vast multitude of popular cults and superstitions. It was therefore found necessary for the Confucianist movement to go beyond these classical texts and produce a new literature of its own. This new Confucianist literature took two distinct forms. One form consists of a number of interpretative commentaries on the Classics, commentaries which read into the Classics much stuff that was never there. The other form was sheer invention or forgery of new Confucianist texts under strange and fanciful titles.

[23] Pan Ku, Bk. 56.

[24] Pan Ku, Bk. 36.

As the Classics were called ching or warps (经), so these forged texts were called wei or woofs (纬). There were seven classes of this apocryphal literature recorded in old catalogues, and fragments of them are still preserved to-day.

A study of this literature will show that the new Confucianism of Han, viewed as a state religion, contained at least these elements:—(1) A belief in a personal God or Heaven who wills and knows and watches over the conduct of men and governments. (2) A belief in the gods and the spirits of the dead who also watch over the acts of men and government. (3) A belief in the idea of distribution of good and evil. (4) A belief that there is a reciprocal relationship between Heaven and man, evil deeds tending to bring forth warnings and wrathful penalties from Heaven and good action leading to propitious omens and rewards. (5) A belief in the possibility of prediction (divination) of events and in the ability of man to appease God and even to change the course of heavenly bodies by accumulation of virtue and merit. (6) A belief in astrology as a science of interpreting the meaning of heavenly phenomena in relation to human and political events.

All these elements were to be interwoven into a system of politico-religious philosophy under the disguise of the Confucian Classics. The central idea in this philosophy or religion is that God or Heaven is purposeful or teleological, that His will or purpose is benevolence to mankind, and that His will may be understood by carefully observing the strange and abnormal phenomena in the heavens and on earth which are God's warnings to men and to the governments. The action of men and especially of governments should be guided by the observation of such phenomena. Failure to be thus guided would result in further wrathful warnings from God and might even lead to the fall of the dynasty or the ruin of the nation.

In short, while the whole tone of this new Confucianism was religious, its underlying motive, whether conscious or not, was almost entirely political. The power of the emperor since the formation of the Ts'in Empire had become truly absolute, and there was no convenient weapon with which this despotic power could be curtailed or controlled. The Confucianist scholars, consciously or unconsciously, hit upon the religious weapon which seemed to have been able to hold the absolute rulers in awe. This religious element, so prominent and powerful at that time, was seized upon as the promising foundation on which to build up a formidable politico-religious system of thought and belief.

The political motive of this new Confucianism was best expressed by Tung Chung-shu, who himself never attained political prominence but whose writings furnished the new Confucianism with a philosophy and a logical method which have had tremendous influence over Chinese thought from the time of Ssu-ma Ch'ien to the time of Kang Yu-wei. Tung Chung-shu worked out his philosophy largely as an interpretation of the *Chun Chiu*, the "Spring and Autumn Annals," from which he derived this important formula: "The *Chun Chiu* teaches the subjection of the people to the ruler and the subjection of the ruler to God."[25]

[25] Tung Chung-shu, *Chun Chiu Fan Hu*, Bk. 2.

This is Han Confucianism put in a nutshell. The object of this new politico-religious system was to find a power over the absolute power of the ruler.

Tung Chung-shu also formulated the essence of the "theology" of new Confucianism in these words: "The action of man, when it reaches the highest level of goodness or evil (that is, when it becomes government action affecting vast number of men), will flow into the universal course of Heaven and Earth, and cause reciprocal reverberations in their manifestations."[26] "When a state is on the verge of ruin, Heaven will cause catastrophes to befall on earth as warnings to the ruler. When these warnings are not hearkened to, then Heaven will cause strange anomalies to appear to terrify the ruler into repentance. But when even these fail to check his evil-doing, then ruin will come. From this we can see that Heaven is always kind to the ruler and anxious to preserve him from destruction. Heaven will always try to protect him and lead him to safety unless he is such an inveterately evil ruler as to be beyond correction. All depends upon one's determination and endeavour."[27]

These courageous words were written as an answer to questions which the Emperor Wu Ti had put to the Confucian scholars whom he had gathered at the Court. He spoke like a prophet and with authority. On these words there was built up a highly complicated theology of Han Confucianism. It is sometimes called the Science of Catastrophes and Anomalies (灾异之学) because its practical application chiefly consisted in the interpretation of these two classes of phenomena. Fires, floods, famines, earthquakes and mountain-slides are examples of catastrophic phenomena (灾). The class of anomalies (异) includes sun eclipses, appearances of comets, unusual movements of planets and stars, the growth of beard on women, etc.

But how can we tell the meaning of a particular warning in the heavens or on earth? By what method are we to interpret the significance of a given catastrophe or anomaly? To this question, Tung Chung-shu replied by working out a curious type of logic, which became the model for many generations of Confucian logicians of the Han Dynasty. He said: "The principle in the Chun Chiu is to record the past for the enlightenment of the future. Therefore, if an event bears some resemblance to one recorded in the *Chun Chiu*, and if we can penetrate into their hidden or implied significance by careful study and grasp their common principle by means of analogy—then all the abnormal phenomena in the heavens and on earth and all the events of the state and of history can be understood without the slightest doubt."[28]

Here is the statement of the methodology of new Confucianism. It is essentially a logic of historical analogy which, in every particular case, involves three distinct steps of reasoning. (1) Take every recorded catastrophe or anomaly in the Chun Chiu and find out its "meaning" by connecting it causally with some political event

[26] His 3rd Answer to the Emperor, in Pan Ku, Bk. 56.

[27] His 1st Answer, in Pan Ku, *ibid*.

[28] Quoted by Pan Ku, Bk. 27, Pt. 1.

immediately preceding it. (2) Then, when a present-day anomaly or catastrophe occurs, try to find its counterpart in the *Chun Chiu*. (3) When you have found this, read its implied meaning which will be applicable to the present phenomenon by force of historical analogy.

Let me cite a famous example[29] which almost cost the life of our philosopher Tung Chung-shu. The *Chun Chiu* records two fires in the state of Lu (one in 507 [B.C.], the other in 491 B.C.) which Tung interpreted as warnings of Heaven for the Duke of Lu to remove his unrighteous ministers from office. Now, in the year 135 B.C. two fires broke out in the course of a few months and burned down two ancestral temples of the empire. Tung interpreted these events as God's warning to the Emperor Wu Ti that he should get rid of two powerful personages, who, though dearest to him by blood relation, were sufficiently unrighteous to arouse the wrath of Heaven. Tung did not present this interpretation to the throne, but his enemy brought it to the attention of the Emperor and every reader knew from the language of the text that he was hinting at the Prime Minister who was half-brother to the Empress Dowager and at the Prince of Hui Nan who was the Emperor's oldest uncle. The philosopher was condemned to death which he barely escaped by a special pardon from the Emperor.

But Tung Chung-shu founded the theology of new Confucianism by his great learning and by his prophetic courage. He built up his system on the Kung-yang Commentary of the *Chun Chiu*. Other Confucianists sought to overshadow him by starting with other Classics as their basis. One school took the chapter of "Hung Fan" (洪范) in the *Book of History* and worked out a more elaborate system of Confucianist logic or casuistry.[30] Another school began with the *Book of Change*.[31] Liu Hsiang, the convicted alchemist, founded his system on the Ku-liang Commentary of the *Chun Chiu* which at that time was still regarded as apocryphal.[32] His son Liu Hsin (刘歆), the confidential advisor to Wang Mang, founded his system on the Tso Commentary of the *Chun Chiu* which too was a disputed text at the time.[33] But the most marvelous piece of *tour de force* was the school of I Feng (翼奉) who succeeded in building up a detailed system of fortune-telling and catastrophic interpretation on the basis of the *Book of Poetry*![34]

Thus the various systems of Confucianist theology and casuistry went on multiplying themselves. Of course, no two schools could agree in the interpretation of any particular catastrophe. Whenever an earthquake or a sun eclipse occurred, the throne was flooded with all kinds of interpretations as to its practical bearing upon persons or events. A large number of these interpretations made between 185 B.C. and the first years of the Christian era are preserved by the great historian Pan Ku in

[29] 2Pan Ku, Bk. 27, Pt. 1.

[30] Pan Ku, Bk. 27. Cf. Bk. 75.

[31] *Ibid*.

[32] *Ibid*.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Pan Ku, Bk. 75.

his *History of Han* and form the longest chapter (Bk. 27) of the book.[35] Pan Ku's example was followed by practically all the later dynastic histories through which one may trace the development or at least the survival of this phase of the Confucianist religion throughout the ages.

From the above account one may easily see that the New Confucianism of the Han Empire was quite different from the agnostic humanism of Confucius, or the democratic political philosophy of Mencius. One may see that it was the peculiar product of the age of the first empires when the tribal religious ideas and practices were being brought together and fused into a great conglomeration of indiscriminate belief and worship. The whole religious and intellectual atmosphere, even in the highest quarters of nobility and royalty was primitive and crudely superstitious. It was but natural that the new Confucianism which was patronized and nurtured in this environment should take on much that was primitive and crudely superstitious. It frankly discarded the naturalistic philosophy of a previous age which had been accepted by such prominent Confucian thinkers as Hsun Tze (荀子).[36] It frankly rejected the agnosticism of Confucius himself and openly took a theistic position similar to that of the school of Mo Ti whom the earlier Confucian philosophers had condemned. These new Confucianists of Han believed that they knew the Will of God and were capable of interpreting hidden meaning of all its manifestations in heaven and on earth. They believed in magic and practised alchemy. They borrowed their methodology from the astrologers and spent their lives in trying to interpret the significance of physical catastrophes and anomalies by means of historical and scriptural analogies.

Yet for all that we must forgive them. These Confucian scholars were children of an environment which alone was responsible for their primitiveness and crudity. They were groping in the dark for some means whereby to check the absolutism of the rulers of a united empire from which there was no way of escape. Religion seemed to be a promising weapon, so their new Confucianism took the form of a religion. And superstition seemed to appeal to the rulers, so superstition was seized upon to form an integral part of their Confucianist religion. They wanted to establish a religion which should teach the rulers to subject themselves to the Will of Heaven and to be benevolent to the people they governed. And in the name of this new Confucianist religion they did frequently brave the anger of emperors and powerful ministers and wrung from them not a few social and political reforms in the interest of the people.

And the greatest achievement of the Confucianist Movement in the Han Dynasty was in the field of education. By founding a national system of education and examination on the basis of the study of classical literature, the Confucian leaders had sown the seeds for the future development of that democratic system of civil service examinations which made it possible for any village boy to rise through his own effort and merit to the highest political position in the empire. And, what is more

[35] In the 1789 edition of the *History of Han*, this chapter covers about 280 pages!

[36] See the chapter on Nature (天论) in *Hsun Tze*.

important still, by governmental encouragement of education and learning, new Confucianism was unwittingly digging its own grave. For in the course of a few generations, there gradually arose great leaders of learning and thought who sought to remedy the primitive crudities of the established state religion. Thus towards the end of the first century B.C. there arose the group of the so-called "ancient script classics" which represented much clearer and more mature thinking and which gradually, though never completely, superseded the "modern script texts" on which the new Confucianism of early Han was based. And a few decades later, there arose the great thinker Wang Ch'ung (王充, A.D. 27-c. 100) who revived and developed the naturalistic philosophy of Taoism by means of which he severely criticized and swept away all the fundamental ideas and beliefs of the politico-religious system of Han Confucianism.

Chapter 8
Confucianism

Confucianism. This term, invented by European writers, covers roughly what is implied in the Chinese word *ju-kiao* (the teaching of the *ju*). Confucius (Kiung Tzu 551–479 B.C.) was one of the paid public teachers (*ju*), more or less similar to the sophists of ancient Greece, who were common in China during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. He spent many years of his life as a public official, was a historian of importance and did his great work as a teacher. Not a philosopher in the ordinary technical sense, he was concerned with drawing up a set of rules for human conduct rather than with the elaboration of theories.

In later times because of the tremendous influence of the school of Confucius the name *ju* came to be used to denote his followers as distinguished from Taoists and Buddhists. And *ju-kiao* became synonymous with the religion of the Confucianists of all ages, including the teaching of Confucius and his early followers as well as the later developments.

Confucius although under the influence of sixth century naturalism was historically minded and a cautious thinker and found it difficult to discard all traditional values. His philosophy was a compromise. Whereas Lao Tzu's naturalism was radically nihilistic, denying God and knowledge, Confucius taught agnosticism, worshipping the gods and spirits "as if they were present." Lao Tzu condemned government, advocating *laissez faire*; Confucius opposed only "bad" government and tried to formulate correct principles of governing. Whereas Lao Tzu condemned civilization and knowledge as leading to evildoing, Confucius exalted the importance of learning and education as against abstract thinking. Whereas Lao Tzu was highly individualistic, Confucius based his moral philosophy on human relationships—the relation between father and son, between man and wife, between elders and the young, between friend and friend and between ruler and subject.

Chapter Note: Edwin R. A. Seligman, ed., Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. New York: Macmillan Co, 1931. Vol. 4. pp. 198–200.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_8, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

Confucius has been called the father of Chinese history, not because he was the first known author of a history of his native state but because of the importance he attached to preserving and studying the literary records of the history, institutions and traditions of the ancient Chinese. These records, notably the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of History*, the *Book of Change* and the *I Li*, became the "Old-Testament" of Confucianism. The Analects, which record his sayings and those of his disciples, the *Book of Mencius* (Meng Tze 372–289 B.C.), and a few other works of uncertain authorship (e.g. the *Book of Filial Piety and the Chung Yung*) form the "New Testament" of Confucianism.

Confucius founded no religion. Contemporary testimony is to the effect that his immediate followers were frankly atheistic. Nevertheless, they laid the basis for a religion on thin precepts of filial piety. They taught three grades of filial piety: the highest ideal was to glorify one's parents by one's own effort and action; next, not to degrade their name; and lastly, to give them support and comfort. "Our body is inherited from our parents. How dare we carry on this inheritance without reverence? It is undutiful for a son to live irregularly, to serve his government unfaithfully, to conduct public duties dishonestly, to be unfaithful to his friends, or to be cowardly on the battlefield. Any one of these five failures in life will bring disaster or dishonor to his parents. How dare we live without reverence?"

Filial piety becomes a real religion when one is taught "not to move one step without thinking of one's parents, not to utter one word without thinking of one's parents." The memory of parents took the place of reverence for a deity usual in other religions; conduct was to be guided by the sense of responsibility to them or to their memory. Morality was to radiate from this sense of reverence and love for one's parents. "He who loves his parents hates no man; he who reveres his parents is discourteous to no man." Thus was founded the religion of Confucianism without a belief in God or the gods.

But the religious beliefs of ancient China soon began to creep into this new religion, which because of its highly intellectual character could make no mass appeal. As Judaism survives in Christianity through the Old Testament, so the old religious ideas and practises of ancient China were perpetuated through the ancient pre-Confucian classics preserved and taught by the Confucian school. When the Emperor Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.) elevated Confucianism to the position of the national religion of the empire, it had already incorporated all the traditional beliefs and superstitions of ancient China which such naturalistic philosophers as Confucius had tried to destroy or to purify.

The cardinal doctrine of Confucianism as a state religion was the idea that the God of heaven is teleological and that the "will of God" may be influenced by the action of man, in particular by that of the emperor. As a philosopher of the second century B.C. expressed it, "the action of man, when it attains a certain level of goodness or of evil, will flow into the universal course of heaven and earth and will cause reciprocal reverberation in their manifestations." Evil acts of the government will bring forth warnings from God in one of two forms: catastrophic phenomena, such as earthquakes and mountain slides, or strange anomalies, such as eclipses of the sun and comets. Whenever such a catastrophe or anomaly occurred, it became the

duty of the Confucian scholar to interpret its meaning and present a memorial of warning to the emperor. Since these natural phenomena were often capable of diverse interpretations, there developed a science of Confucianist casuistry, to the exposition of which the great historian Pan Ku (32–92 A.D.) devoted over 200 pages in his *History of Han* (bk. xxvii).

Absurd and superstitious as this new Confucianism was it nevertheless had its humanizing effects. It was the only means by which the scholarly class in an age of absolute despotism could fight tyrannical rulers and check their powers in the interest of the people. In their political thought Confucius and Mencius were socialistically inclined. Both laid down principles of humanitarianism and benevolent rule by the wisest members of society in a sort of Kantian republic. Confucius opposed price raising by private or fiscal monopolies and favored government regulation of prices, loans, free granaries, aid to transportation and state relief for orphans and the aged in addition to private charities. Taxes were to be equal and universal. Confucius approved an income tax and opposed customs tariffs. Mencius in particular stressed the importance of heeding the voice of the people. He devoted much attention to the problem of land distribution, conservation through closed seasons and other aspects of economic life. He laid down the doctrine that when crime is the result of poverty punishment is improper and that responsibility for such crime rests with the ruler. The later Confucianists carried on this tradition and from time to time brought about political and economic reforms on principles laid down by Confucius and Mencius.

An important distinction between Confucianism and many Western philosophies and religions on their political side is the universality of its doctrine; the object of government is the entire earth and all its inhabitants, not any single local or national group. Another difference is the attitude toward consumption and production. While Confucius lays down many regulations for facilitating the latter he reflects in his attitude toward the former the ideal of satisfying the pressing needs of all before permitting increased consumption by privileged individuals, an ideal which was typical of the family-agrarian economy of China.

During the mediaeval period Confucianism was not thought of as a religion, for in this respect it had long been overshadowed by Buddhism and Taoism. But it continued to produce the scholars, officials and statesmen who carried on the functions of the government and the state. It played a part similar to that of Greco-Roman culture in mediaeval Europe with the important difference that while in mediaeval Europe the scholar had no way of social advancement except through the church the Chinese system of civil service examinations enabled the Confucianist scholars themselves to control the channels of civil and social advancement. Buddhism for the salvation of the soul, Taoism for contemplation but Confucianism for the ordering of society and government.

From time to time Confucianist scholars attempted to rid China of Buddhism. The famous writer Han Yu (768–824), for example proposed this formula of persecution: “Restore all monks and nuns to lay life, burn their books and convert the monasteries to human dwellings.” In 845 the government actually carried out a most drastic persecution of Buddhism destroying over 40,000 monasteries and forcing

over 260,000 monks and nuns to return to lay life. But Buddhism soon recovered and its great masters, the *Zen* (*ch'an* or dhyana), continued to influence the nation's religious and intellectual life for several centuries.

The moral and political philosophy taught by Confucius and Mencius was simple as compared to the complicated machinery of Buddhist psychology, logic and metaphysics. For over 800 years Confucianism produced no original thinker of first importance. It occupied itself with practical affairs, having yielded speculative thinking to the Buddhist schools. After long centuries of Buddhist domination there arose under the Sung dynasty a new Confucianist philosophy whose chief representatives were the brothers Ch'eng Hao (1032–1085) and Ch'eng I (1033–1107), Lu Kiu-yuan (1139–1192), Chu Hsi (1130–1200) and Wang Yang-ming (1472–1528). They sought to work out a Confucianist cosmology, psychology and logic as the basis of a moral and political philosophy, which has become known as neo-Confucianism.

Neo-Confucianism is classical Confucianism reinterpreted in the light and under the influence of the Buddhist and Taoist mediaeval religions and contains many elements taken from them. Unlike classical Confucianism it is esoteric and speculative; it exalts meditation and quietism. Its attitude toward moral questions is far more rigorous and puritanical than the humane teachings of Confucius and Mencius. While it made no protest against the system of concubinage and the vogue of foot binding which was arising at the time, its great teachers condemned the remarriage of widows. "To die of starvation is a very small matter but (for a widow) to lose chastity is a very great sin."

Despite these marked traces of mediaeval heritage neo-Confucianism represented the historic tendency of China seeking liberation from the otherworldliness of mediaevalism and a return to the more practical problems of the individual, family and the state. It represented the movement to secularize thought and society. Its esoteric meditation, its study and speculation, were not directed to the attainment of arahatship or Taoist longevity but to the perfection of the individual so he might be better fitted to serve society and the state.

Although neo-Confucianism was at first persecuted by the government because of its uncompromising opposition to some political leaders of the time it spread rapidly and gained a great following. Buddhism and Taoism ceased to command the interest of the intellectuals and gradually died a natural death, surviving today in China merely as the superstitions of the ignorant. Since the fourteenth century Confucianism, patronized by the emperors, has become the orthodox moral and political philosophy of the educated class. For over 500 years, from 1400 to 1900, the commentaries of Chu Hsi on the Confucian classics were used in all schools and all civil service examinations. Written in lucid and simple language, these texts have had tremendous influence in popularizing the moral and social teachings of the Confucian school as reinterpreted by the Sung philosophers and they have colored all Chinese institutions.

Neo-Confucianism developed in a united empire of absolute rule and as a political philosophy failed to grasp the democratic spirit of classical Confucianism and tended to strengthen the hand of despotism. One of the Sung philosophers said that "parents can do no wrong"; by analogy this dictum has become the unconscious basis of a

political philosophy that emperors can do no wrong. In this sense neo-Confucianism has well deserved centuries of imperial patronage. It has been responsible, on the one hand, for long periods of comparative political stability and, on the other, for a lack of political and intellectual freedom.

In the early years of the twentieth century there were some attempts to revive Confucianism and reinterpret it in the light of modern life and thought. After the founding of the Republic of China there was a feeble movement to establish Confucianism as a state religion (partly in the hope of using it as a bulwark against foreign influence) or, failing that, to make it the national system of moral teaching in all schools. But these efforts soon ceased and by an order of the ministry of education official sacrifices at the temple of Confucius were officially abolished in 1928.

From China Confucianism spread to Korea and thence in the third century of the Christian era to Japan. Official schools were opened in the seventh century, and later Confucius attained the stature of a divinity. While its cultural influence was great, Confucianism as a cult never attained the mass support given to Buddhism in Japan. An essential transformation of Confucian teachings took place on Japanese soil, where the importance attached to the family as the institutional basis of life and to filial piety as a virtue were translated into an emphasis on the institution of the state and loyalty to the ruler.

Chapter 9
Religion and Philosophy in Chinese History

Prepared for the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Hangchow—October 21 to November 4, 1931. Hu also spoke at the Fifth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Philosophy, in China as well as elsewhere, has been a handmaid, a defender, a critic, or an opponent, of religion. In any one of these roles, philosophy is seen always together with religion as her partner, her client, or her antagonist. Even in the most radical thinkers, there lingers the ghost of religion. Socrates, who was condemned to death on the charge of disbelieving the gods of his city, died with the last instruction to his disciples to pay "a cock to Asclepius," the god of healing. And Lao Tse the founder of philosophical naturalism in China, was centuries later made to father a superstitious religion and was deified as one of its supreme gods.

It has been said that the Chinese people are the least religious among the civilized races, and that Chinese philosophy has been most free from the domination of religious influences. Both of these observations are not true in the light of history. A study of history will convince us that the Chinese people were capable of highly religious emotions; that in certain periods of history, China became so fanatically religious that many monks and nuns would willingly burn themselves to death as the supreme form of sacrifice to some Buddhist deity; and that Chinese philosophy has always been so much conditioned by the religious development of the different periods that the history of Chinese thought cannot be properly understood without being studied together with that of the Chinese religions. If our people to-day do not appear so religious as the other races of the world, it is only because our thinkers, our Voltaires and our Huxleys, had long ago fought hard against the forces of religion. And if China has so far failed to achieve a truly humanistic civilization, it is only

Chapter Note: Sophia H. Chen Zen, ed., Symposium on Chinese Culture. Shanghai: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931. pp. 25–58.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_9, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

because the rationalistic and humanistic tendencies of Chinese thought have been more than once frustrated by the too great powers of religion.

In the following paragraphs, I shall try to present a brief historical survey of the inter-play between religion and philosophy in China.

I

Two great religions have played tremendously important roles throughout Chinese history. One is Buddhism which came to China probably before the Christian era but which began to exert nation-wide influence only after the third century A.D. The other great religion has had no generic name, but I propose to call it Siniticism. It is the native religion of the Chinese people: it dates back to time immemorial and includes all such later phases of its development as Moism, Confucianism (as a state religion), and all the various stages of the Taoist religion. Siniticism has been to China what Hinduism has been to India. In its later stages of development, it has taken unto itself many elements from Buddhism; but its basic ideas and belief are traceable to the primitive tenets of ancient China.

The introduction of Buddhism into China was the most important landmark in the history of Chinese philosophy as well as in the history of Chinese religion. Before that, Chinese thought had to deal with the religious influences of ancient China; but after Buddhism had made itself felt throughout the empire, Chinese thought had to face the doubly difficult task of assimilating an alien system of religion and philosophy and of adjusting itself to the demands and perils of the rapidly changing and partially Indianized Sinitic religion.

We may conveniently divide the history of Chinese thought into three main periods. The first period may be called the Sinitic Age which ends with the ascendency of Buddhism in the fourth century A.D. The second period is the Buddhist Age covering the eight centuries from 300 to 1100 A.D. The third period may be called the Age of Chinese Renaissance which began with the rise of secular Neo-Confucian thought in the eleventh century and comes down to our own times.

The civilization of ancient China was essentially a combination of the cultures of the Shang and Chou dynasties. The Shang dynasty which flourished in the second millennium B.C. had its political and cultural centre in and about modern Honan, and its territory and influence extended eastward to the sea. Its culture may be called an eastern culture. The Chou people came from the west and, gradually moving eastward, finally conquered the Shangs towards the end of the twelfth century B.C. Its political capital remained in western Shensi until it was captured and sacked by the Barbarians in 771 B.C. It was the blending of the eastern and western cultures of the Shangs and the Chous that formed the civilization of ancient China.

What we term the Sinitic religion was the product of this Shang-Chou cultural combination. From the vast number of oracular bones with finely carved ideographical writings which have been found in Anyang, Honan, we may infer that the Shang people were devout worshippers of dead ancestors, that they had apparently no

worship of a supreme God, and that they believed in divination and every important activity of the state, from hunting to war, was decided by reading the oracular answers in the burnt crackings on the tortoise shells or animal bones. It was from the Shang people that the worship of ancestors and the belief in divination came to be integral parts of the Sinitic religion.

With the eastward march of the Chou people, there came a new religious force which was almost monotheistic. In many of the songs and odes left by this people, we can see that they worshipped a *Shang-ti* (Supreme God) or *Hao-tien* (August Heaven) who was all-seeing and all-powerful and who would protect the just and punish the evil-doers. When the Chou people had conquered the eastern dynasty, the religion of the conquerors was superimposed on the older religion of the vanquished people of the east. The two currents gradually became merged into one national religion which recognized a Supreme God and also accepted the general worship of ancestors. Between the supreme deity and the ancestors, there were the lesser gods of the natural forces—the Sun, the Moon, the Mountains and Rivers—and the deified ancestors of great achievement. Tribal gods of newer races were also brought into this pantheon of the religion of the Shang and Chou peoples.

The belief in divination continued to be in great vogue. But its technique went through many changes. A new process was introduced under the Chou dynasty, which used a fixed number of divination sticks arranged in a definite order and which, instead of the old practice of deciphering the burnt crackings of the oracular bones, had ready-made "judgments" for every possible arrangement or computation of the sticks. The best known book of such divination judgments is the *Book of Change*, which in later ages came to be accepted as one of the Sacred Books of ancient China.

The importance of divination in the history of Chinese civilization cannot be over-estimated. As far as we know, the earliest writings in China were those engraven on the oracular bones, recording the subject for divination, the date, and the reading of the oracular answer. This was the beginning of writing, of chronology, of history and of literature. This, too, marked the beginning of literary education and of an intellectual class. For the tremendous importance attached to divination and worship and the difficulty in deciphering the mysterious signs on the bones and mastering the art of ideographical writing,—all these gave rise to a class of men specially trained for performing such duties. These were the priests and priestesses, the interpreters of the gods and the teachers of men. The latest systematic excavation at Anyang shows that the oracular shells and bones of the Shang dynasty were carefully numbered and collected for preservation. The priests were the custodians of knowledge. It was natural that the office of the Imperial Historian was always connected with the State Priesthood. Moreover, since astrology early became a part of the science of divination, the priests were the first readers of the secrets of the heavens, the keepers and reformers of the calendar, and the fathers of astronomy. They were the first scientists and the first philosophers. And, in so far as the object of divination was to guide state action and human conduct, they were also the first moral philosophers who sought to understand the will of the gods for the warning and guidance of men.

Such was what I have termed Siniticism in its simplest elements. This religion of ancient China contained these elements: (1) the worship of a Supreme God, (2) the worship of the spirits of the dead, (3) the worship of the forces of nature (from among which Tien or Heaven, in all probability, was differentiated and developed into the Supreme God), (4) a belief in the idea of retribution of good and evil, and (5) a very general belief in the efficacy of divination in various forms.

II

The Western Chou dynasty fell in 771 B.C. and its capital was moved to Loyang, Honan. The imperial dynasty was a mere shadow of the former empire. A number of large states had arisen to political prominence and China was entering into an age of independent and contending states, each working for its own political ascendency, territorial expansion and economic prosperity. The old order, social as well as political, was breaking down and education was no longer confined to the privileged few. Wars and the vicissitudes and sufferings resulting therefrom had set many people thinking and were producing an age of poets who were raising voices of criticism and protest. Many of such poems were preserved in the Book of Poetry. The ancient religion no longer satisfied the feelings and longings of the suffering people. Some soft souls might thus resign themselves to their fate:

> Let it be!
> God hath done it.
> Wherefore should I complain?

but others began to doubt the wisdom and benevolence of God. Thus one poet sang:

> The people are now in peril.
> They look to Heaven, and all is dark and dumb.
> It is determined,
> And there is none whom it conquers not.
> O Great God!
> Whom do You hate?

And another became more vehement in his complaint:

> The great God is inconstant in His kindness,
> And He has spread famine and destroyed the nations.
> The great God is wrathful: He thinks not, nor plans.
> Let alone the guilty ones who are destroyed.
> How about the innocent ones who perish with them!

The age of the poets was the precursor of the age of the philosophers which began in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. In fact we may even say that it was the poets who had produced the philosophers. For by the sixth century, the *Book of Poetry* had become the most popular book everywhere. It was the text-book for literary education and for good manners. Its songs were sung at every meeting of

princes, nobles and knights. It was quoted in conversations of the time. Confucius once asked his son, "Have you studied the *Book of Poetry*? You cannot learn to talk without studying it." This collection of 300 poems which contained love lyrics, didactic poems, religious hymns and folk songs, thus became to ancient China what Homer and Hesiod were to ancient Greece. It taught the people how to speak and to sing, but it also taught them how to think. For, while it contained many poems of high religious fervor and devotion, it also included a great many others which, as exemplified in those lines quoted above, expressed grave doubts of the religious faith of old or openly criticized the social and political order of the time. And the generation which was brought up under the tutorship of these poets, was destined to see the rise of what may be justly called the age of Chinese Enlightenment.

Three great leaders, Lao Tse, Confucius and Mo Ti, arose within the brief space of less than 200 years (about 570–420 B.C.) and laid the foundation of Chinese philosophy for all the centuries to come. All of the three can only be best understood in their respective relation to the tottering Sinitic religion and to the critical and skeptical atmosphere of their times. Broadly speaking, Lao Tse stood at the extreme Left in the attitude towards the old religion; Confucius occupied the Centre with strong leaning towards the Left; and Mo Ti, founder of the Mo Sect, represented the Conservative Right. Lao Tse was a rebel in religion and a revolutionary in philosophy; Confucius was a Humanist and an Agnostic; and Mo Ti was a religious leader who sought to save the old Sinitic religion by purifying it and giving it a new significance.

Lao Tse was the best representative of the skeptical and revolting tendencies of the age. "Heaven and Earth," said he, "are unkind: they treat all beings like grass and dogs." He revolted against the anthropomorphic and teleological conception of a Supreme God, and tried to replace it by his idea of the *Tao* which means "a way" or a process. It was a great discovery in the history of human thought; but it was so much in advance of his age that he had great difficulty in describing it. He said: "Before heaven and earth, it was. Alone it stands, and changes not; everywhere it moves, and suffers not. It may be the mother of the universe I know not its name, but I call it *Tao* (way) and, for lack of a better term, give it the title of *Ta* (great)." Lao Tse conceived the *Tao* as a natural process,—"natural" in Chinese literally meaning "being so of itself." Everything becomes such of itself: there is no need of presupposing a design, a purpose, or a prime mover. "The *Tao*," said Lao Tse, "always does nothing; and yet it achieves everything."

From this cosmological naturalism, there have been developed all the other phases of Lao Tse's nihilistic philosophy. The natural was the ideal. The best government was the least governed, and the ideal society was that which came nearest to the state of nature wherein reigned unadorned simplicity and native innocence. "When the world knows beauty to be beauty, there is ugliness. When it knows goodness to be good, there is evil." He wanted to return to a world where there should be no names, no words, no language or literature, no knowledge and no civilization. "Fill your stomach, but empty your mind."

All this negative and destructive philosophy was not acceptable to Confucius (551–478 B.C.), a younger contemporary of Lao Tse. But in all probability,

Confucius was greatly influenced by the older philosopher's naturalistic conception of the universe. This is quite apparent in his exaltation of non-interference as an ideal in government. But he was an active man and could not be contented with a nihilistic philosophy. And he was a historically minded man who realized that it was impossible to return to a state of nature. He was concerned with the problem of setting the world to right order. "Birds and beasts are no fellows of mine; with whom shall I associate, if I do not work with men?" When a disciple asked him about death and the proper duties to gods and spirits, Confucius merely said, "We do not know life; how can we know death? And we have not learned how to serve men, how can we serve the gods and spirits?" His position was that of an agnostic. "To say that you know a thing when you know it, and to say that you do not know it when you really do not know it—that is knowledge." This was his formula of agnosticism.

But Confucius was a practical educator and statesman and was not willing to revolt against the religion of his fathers and his fellow men. He was always reverent in observing the religious rites of his people. When the people were holding a religious festival known as *No*, Confucius was seen to stand watching reverently in his official dress. And in his *Analects* this rule was laid down: Worship as if something were present; worship a god as if he were really present. This philosophy of the *als ob* was no hypocrisy, but sound psychology of religious experience. As his followers put it, "when you have purified yourself for the worship and when you have put on the sacrificial robes, the solemnity of the occasion will make you feel as if the gods were actually above you and on the right and left of you." It was the psychology of reverence.

Confucius and his school developed a kind of determinism which had its roots probably in the ancient belief in divination and which was also a logical outcome of the naturalistic conception of the universe. "Life and death are preordained, and wealth and honor are in Heaven's hand," that was how a disciple of Confucius expressed the idea of determinism. When Confucius was told of a plot against one of his disciples, he said: "If the truth prevails, it is fate. And if it fails to prevail, it is fate." The Chinese word used here for "fate" was ming literally meaning an order or ordaining, which had come to mean "what has been allotted" to the individual. This deterministic conception, while quite religious in itself, was not favorable to the older belief in the efficacy of appeasing the gods for special favors or for averting misfortunes. A man who believes in determinism, will abide by his lot and will not worry himself about the pleasure or displeasure of the gods. "A gentleman," said Confucius, "sorrows not, nor fears. As long as he finds no guilt in his heart, why should he sorrow, and what should he fear?"

Confucius came from a family which had been direct descendants of the royal house of the Shang dynasty. It was most probable that his family still retained the old Shang religion of ancestral worship in its purer form. At any rate Confucius, who was an agnostic, was at the same time the teacher of a new religion based, not upon any worship of the gods or a God, but upon the central idea of filial piety. The concept of filial duty seemed to have originated in ancestor worship; but in the new religion as developed by the Confucianists, ancestral worship became only a corollary of filial piety. This new religion was therefore

no mere revival of the old ancestral worship, but a new interpretation which amounted to a new creation.

The religion of filial piety centres around the idea that the individual body is the sacred inheritance from the parents and must be constantly regarded as such. "There are three forms of filial piety," said Tseng-tse, a Confucian disciple and the greatest exponent of the new religion; "the highest is to glorify one's parents; next, not to degrade them; and lastly, to support them." "This body is inherited from our parents. How dare we act irreverently with this inheritance of our parents? Therefore, to live carelessly is a sin against filial duty, so is disloyalty to our princes, so is dishonesty in official duty, so is faithlessness to our friends, and so is lack of courage on the battlefield. Failure in any of these five duties will disgrace one's parents. Dare we act without reverence?"

Thus this new religion sought to establish a new moral sanction without the benefit of the gods. The constant consideration of never disgracing one's sacred inheritance from the parents was regarded as sufficient moral sanction for human action. "The filial son never moves a step without thinking of his parents; and never utters a word without thinking of his parents." His parents thus take the place of God or the gods in a theistic religion.

Now, this new movement of Confucianism, though mild and moderate in comparison with the destructive nihilism of Lao Tse, was viewed with disfavor and suspicion by the religious souls of the age. In the eyes of the devout people, the Confucian movement was not merely agnostic, but frankly atheistic. All its acceptance of determinism and its shifting of moral sanction from the gods to one's parents were regarded as dangerously undermining the religion of ancient China. The old religion was forced to defend its own existence in the face of such grave dangers.

Thus arose Mo Ti (c. 490–415 B.C.), the great religious leader and reformer. He openly condemned the Confucians as "atheists" who denied the existence of gods and ghosts and yet ceremoniously practised all the rites of ancestral worship! "That is as meaningless as throwing a fishing net where you are sure to find no fish!" And he strongly attacked the Confucian belief in determinism, the falsehood of which he tried hard to prove. He also tried to prove logically that the gods and ghosts had real existence.

But he was essentially a believer in one Supreme God who wills, feels, and watches over this human world with unlimited love. "The will of God is love,—love for all and without distinction." This was the greatest contribution to the history of Chinese religion. He was trying to purify the old religion and give it a new meaning which he found in the idea of "love for all."

From this central doctrine of love for all, Mo Ti developed all the other phases of his new religion which was later known as Moism. God is love, therefore we must oppose the wars among the nations. His sermons against war constitute the most inspiring parts of his works. His pacifism and love for mankind led him to travel long distances under great hardship for the sake of persuading nations at war to cease hostilities and effect peace. He and all his followers, out of their great love for men, taught and practised very austere forms of self-denial. Mencius, the most severe critic of the Mo religion, could not help saying: "Mo Ti loved all men and was willing to wear out his body from head to heel for the benefit of mankind."

In order to defend the theistic position against the radical and agnostic thinkers of the age Mo Ti had to resort to the art of polemics. He invented the logic of threefold argument which required all reasoning to be tested by three criteria: first, it must have the authority of the ancient sages; second, it must agree with the common experiences of the ordinary people; and lastly, it must pass the test of practical utility. With this logical machinery, he proved conclusively that ghosts had real existence and that there was no such thing as fate or doom. This was the beginning of logic in China. Truly, as John Dewey has long ago pointed out, logic always arose as an instrument for the defence of a faith that was in danger of being overthrown.

III

This great trio,—Lao Tse, Confucius and Mo Ti,—founded the Schools of Laoism (as distinguished from Taoism), Confucianism and Moism which, because they continued to exert influences upon one another, in turn gave rise to other new schools of thought in the fourth and third centuries B.C. A detailed exposition of these schools is out of place in this brief survey. It is sufficient to say that those four centuries from Lao Tse to Han Fei (d. 233 B.C.) saw the maturity of the Chinese mind, the unfettered development of philosophy, and the foundation of Chinese civilization for all ages to come.

Although all the earlier schools of thought had their origin in reaction towards the religious situation of ancient China, they soon plunged themselves into the intellectual activities they had initiated, and gradually lost all the traces of religious interest. Even the Mo School became so much engrossed in their logical problems that they became master logicians and scientists who apparently thought very little of their religion of the Will of God. The Confucianists took great interest in the problems of ethics and politics, of civilization in general and education in particular. They were the Humanists of the age.

Many of the implications of the naturalistic philosophy of Lao Tse were developed in this age. The conception of Nature unfolding itself without plan and without fail, led to speculations on problems of progress and natural evolution; and the exaltation of nature and the natural gave rise to the school of individualism which placed the freedom of the individual above everything else. “To live a full life is the best; to live with only incomplete satisfaction of one’s legitimate desires is next; to live without freedom or under degrading bondage is worse than death.” In politics, this line of naturalistic thinking furnished the basis of a political philosophy of non-interference and non-action which, however, did not mean doing nothing, but only suppression of personal caprices in favor of natural order and objective necessity. This political philosophy was the foundation for the development of the theories of law in the fourth and third centuries [B.C.].

In the hands of Chuang Tse, the naturalistic philosophy was carried to such extremity as to become the basis of a very pessimistic fatalism. There was no escape from this all-pervading Fate against which all human effort seemed helpless. What

was left to man was contentment and resignation. In this we see the religious mood of Medieval China.

But the Humanism of the Confucian School soon arose to protest against this fatalism of Chuang Tse. "Chuang Tse saw Nature but ignored Man" was the criticism made by Hsun Tse. Hsun Tse and two of his great disciples, Han Fei and Li Szu (d. 208 B.C.) championed the idea of progress through conscious human effort. Listen to this Baconian song by Hsun Tse:—

> You glorify Nature and meditate on her:
> Why not domesticate and regulate her?
> You follow Nature and sing her praise:
> Why not control her course and use it? … … … …
> Therefore, I say: To neglect man's effort and speculate about Nature,
> Is to misunderstand the facts of the universe.

It was Li Szu, the disciple of this school of positive and progressive thought, who, as the leading statesman under the First Emperor of Ts'in, brought about the union of the whole of China under the new empire (221 B.C.). The feudal system was abolished. There was to be only one empire, one law, one language and one system of thought and belief. Intoxicated with success, he proceeded to prosecute and suppress the critics of the government. In 213 B.C., he presented a memorial to the throne in which he vehemently condemned all those who "refused to study the present and believed only in the ancients on whose authority they dared to criticize the government and mislead the people." The imperial government adopted his policy and ordered the confiscation and burning of all books owned by private individuals. "Only books on medicine, divination and horticulture are exempt from this law. Hereafter, the people who wish to know the laws and acts of the government, should go to the officers of the law."

But the Ts'in Empire which was founded on conquest, was not destined to last long. It fell in 207 [B.C.]. After a decade of rebellion and war, the country was once more unified under the Han Empire which lasted 400 years (202 B.C.–220 A.D.) and laid the real foundation for a unified China throughout the ages.

The founders of the Han Empire came from the lowly class of the South and had no interest in reviving the learning and philosophical teaching of the earlier period which the First Emperor of Ts'in had suppressed. By sheer accident, Ts'ao Ts'an, one of the great generals of the empire, who became Prime Minister in 193 B.C., was greatly impressed by an old philosopher of the school of Lao Tse who advised him that the best way to govern a people was to let them alone. Ts'ao Ts'an tried it in the State of Ts'i and his 9 years of administration was crowned with great success. So when he became Prime Minister of the Empire, he continued his policy of *laissez faire* which was necessary at a time when the people had not yet recovered from the terrible devastations of a long war, and the new rulers being ignorant upstarts from the unlettered class, were not qualified to give to the country any policy of positive benevolence. This policy of non-interference, begun by accident, was maintained by the successors of Ts'ao Ts'an, partly because it was successful and partly because it was the easiest policy for any government to follow. The result was remarkably beneficial. In the course of 70 years, the Empire was literally rolling

in general prosperity. "Millions of copper coins had accumulated at the Imperial Treasury, so long lying idle that the strings tying them together were rotting away; and the grains in the Imperial granaries were literally overflowing and had to be stored uncovered, with the consequence that the grain soon became rotten and uneatable. The peasants became wealthy and owned horses. Those who rode on mares or young colts were laughed at in respectable society. Gate-keepers lived on fine food and meat."

While China was thus settling down to the new political life of peace and prosperity under the unified empire, her religious life also underwent an important change. The Ts'in people came from the barbarian west and brought with them their tribal religion which was animistic and polytheistic. They worshipped four highest Gods who were interpreted by the eastern philosophers as corresponding to four of the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire and earth); and the number of Gods was soon increased to five, representing not only the five elements, but also the five directions (east, west, north, south and the centre) and the five colors. When the Ts'in people conquered the whole country, their tribal religion became the state religion and the Five Gods took the place of the one *Shang-ti* of old Siniticism. And as the formerly independent states became parts of the Empire, their respective forms of belief and worship, too, were absorbed into the religion of the Empire. The First Emperor was particularly attracted by the religious sects of the coastal races of the northeast who had developed the belief in *shen hsien* or immortals who dwell in the sacred mountains and never die and who could teach us mortals the secrets of longevity. Connected with this cult were all kinds of strange worship and practices of alchemy which aimed at the conversion of base metals into gold and at the discovery of the elixir of longevity. All these under the patronage of the First Emperor, became part of the state religion and the old Sinitic religion was greatly enlarged.

Under the Han Empire, the state worships of Ts'in were retained and new forms of superstition were introduced by the new ruling class which had come from the uneducated masses. The fifth emperor of Han, Wu Ti, who reigned 53 years (140–87 B.C.), was the most devout and most credulous patron of all the superstitions and worships found in his great empire. When he visited the eastern coast, over 10,000 magic and alchemical "prescriptions" or "methods" were offered to him by the followers of the various Ts'i cults. Many of the alchemists received the highest honors of the Imperial Court. One of them was made a General and a Marquis and was married to the Emperor's own daughter. Wu Ti constantly travelled from one place of worship to another in the vain hope that he might one day meet the Immortals and receive the elixir of long life. He had everything he could desire in worldly wealth and honor; and he only wished that his pious devotion might be rewarded by "ascending to Heaven" where he might enjoy the eternal life of bliss, for the sake of which, he said, he would gladly give up his wives and children as he would discard a pair of old shoes.

Fifty years of magic, alchemy, witch craft, and occult worship under imperial patronage brought about a dark age of superstition and fear which seemed to permeate the whole Court and the whole populace. Towards the end of Wu Ti's

reign, a tragic case of persecution of witch-craft led to the death of two Prime Ministers, one Empress, the Imperial Heir-apparent, two grandsons of the Emperor and many other families, and it ended in a war fought in the streets of the Capital and costing the lives of tens of thousands of innocent people (91 B.C.). We need no better proof to establish the historical fact that China was entering into the Dark Ages long before the invasion of Buddhism! Imperial Siniticism has done it.

This time, Sinitcism was being fitted into the newly rising movement of Confucianism and was for several centuries to come, to be closely identified with Confucianism. For the same Emperor, Wu Ti, who patronized all those occult beliefs and practices, was known in history as the one great ruler who made Confucianism the religion and moral teaching of the Empire. He gathered around him a large number of Confucian scholars who were indispensable for devising rituals and ceremonies for all his grand worships and for discovering respectable precedents and rites in the ancient Classics for their interpretation. The state religion of the Han Empire was, therefore, the result of co-operation between the Confucian scholars and the magicians, the alchemists, and the occultists. And many of the Confucian scholars, being children of the age, were themselves devout believers in most of these occult things. They readily offered their services and helped to furnish a rational ground for the grafting of all those strange forms of worship and belief in Han Confucianism.

With the help of the Confucian scholars, the various occult elements of the religion of the people were successfully worked into a partially rationalized system of the state religion. The Five Supreme Gods of the First Empire were degraded to a secondary position by superimposing above them a new supreme ruler, *Tai-i* (太一 The Great One), who had been one of the popular gods, but whom the Confucians and the occultists conspired to elevate to the highest position in the state religion. *Tai-i* thus took the place of *Shang-ti* in the older Sinitic religion.

The old idea of retribution in ancient Siniticism was also revived and greatly amplified in the "Science of Catastrophes and Anomalies" which became the foundation of the new Confucianist theology. The founder and leader of this new theology was Tung Chung-shu (董仲舒 died 104 B.C.) who has put it in this concise formula: "The action of man, when it reaches the highest level of goodness or evil, will flow into the universal course of Heaven and Earth, and cause responsive reverberations in their manifestations." When the government has committed ruinous acts, God will give warnings in the form of catastrophes. Fire, floods, famines, earthquakes and mountain-slides belong to this category. When such warnings are not heeded, the Heaven will cause strange anomalies to appear to terrify the ruler into repentance. The class of anomalies includes sun eclipses, comets, the growth of beard on women, etc. Whenever the strange anomalies fail to check the evil action of the government, then final ruin and destruction will come.

From this central idea of warning and retribution from Heaven for actions of the state, there has developed a vast literature devoted to the science of detecting and interpreting the meaning of all the catastrophic and abnormal phenomena in the heavens and on earth. Thousands of such interpretations have been recorded and form one of the longest sections in almost every one of the dynastic histories. Every

one of the ancient Classics, particularly the *Chun Chiu* (The Annals of Lu), the *Book of Change* and the one book in the *Book of History* known as the *Hung Fan*, was made the basis of the new Confucianist theology. When they found the Classics not easily amenable to such interpretations, they invented new texts which were called *wei* (纬 woofs) or complementary books to the *ching* (经 warps, i.e., the Classics). The authority of this class of apocryphal literature became so exalted that throughout the first two centuries of the Christian era, many important state policies such as reforms in the calendar or selection of an heir to the throne were decided upon by strange confirmations from these forged books.

IV

Thus was established the state religion of the Han Empire under the disguise of Confucianism. It was a religion which Confucius or Mencius or Hsun Tse would have emphatically repudiated. It was the old Siniticism enlarged and widened to suit the needs and conditions of the united empire. It had the willing co-operation of the Confucianist scholars because they, too, were already converts to this new religious conglomeration of the empire. Some of them were probably conscious of the need of some religious check over the unlimited power of despotism under a regime which was founded by one time butchers and bandits. Tung Chung-shu, for example, openly taught that it was the principal precept of the Chun Chiu to "subject the people to the ruler and subject the ruler to God." And in the name of this new religion the Confucianist statesmen of the age did brave the anger of emperors and powerful ministers and wring from them not a few social and political reforms in the interest of the people.

But the intellectual compromise was too great and the rationalistic mentality of the race could not stand it too long. So a rationalistic revolt arose in the first century under the leadership of the great Wang Ch'ung (王充 27-c. 100 A.D.), who was a native of modern Chekiang and wrote his great *Lun Heng* (Essays of Criticism) during the years 60–90 A.D.

The *Lun Heng*, says the author himself, "are essays of *critical* judgment." "One sentence is sufficient to sum up any book: *It hates falsehood*." (疾虚妄) "Right is made to appear wrong and falsehood is regarded as truth. How can I remain silent? When I read current books of this kind, when I see truth overshadowed by falsehood, my heart beats violently and the pen stirs in my hand. How can I be silent! When I criticize them, I study them, check them with facts and show up their falsehood by establishing evidences." "In short, the *Lun Heng* seeks to sift the true from the false, and the genuine from the fabricated." In these words, we see the beginning of a new age,—the age of criticism.

Wang Ch'ung criticized the books of the age, the superstition of the common people and the religious ideas and practices of the Confucian scholars. He was chiefly concerned with the new Confucian religion and theology which were founded on the principle of responsive relation between the acts of man and the

catastrophes and abnormal phenomena in heaven and on earth. He made full use of the results of the astronomical science of his age and pointed out that "on an average, there is one moon eclipse in about every 180 days, and a solar eclipse in about every 41 or 42 months. Eclipses are regular occurrences and are not caused by political action. All anomalies and catastrophes are of the same class and are never dependent upon political events."

He also pointed out that the Confucianist theology was based on a wrong conception of man's place in the universe. "Man's place in the universe is no more than a little flea underneath one's clothes or a little ant in his underground cave. The flea may jump about and the ant may climb or crawl; can these movements change the atmosphere of their hiding places? Now, Heaven is vast and man is very tiny. How can a man hope to affect the 'air' of the Heavens with his little body of seven foot? I am sure it is a hopeless ambition indeed."

Wang Ch'ung further pointed out that the Confucians erred in their whole conception of Nature. "The Confucianist scholars say that Heaven and Earth *purposely* (故) produce mankind. That is false. The forces of heaven and earth merely combine and *accidentally* (偶) man is born… The parents never purposely bear children, nor does Nature purposely produce man. Man lives on earth just as fish live in water or fleas on the animal body. They all come from the 'air' (气) and reproduce according to their kind and species. This is true to all things in the universe." "Heaven is the all-comprehensive air. It does not purposely produce the grains and silk-worm in order to feed and clothe men, just as it does not purposely cause the catastrophes and anomalies in order to warn the governments. Things are born of themselves, and men make use of them to feed and clothe themselves."

Wang Ch'ung represented a movement to revive the naturalistic philosophy of Lao Tse and of the later Laoists. Throughout the two centuries following the death of Wang Ch'ung, the philosophy of naturalism gradually came to be generally accepted among the intellectual class. The period of the Three Kingdoms (220–280) and the Chin Dynasty (265–420) was known in history as the age of naturalism and nihilism in thought. The heavy and clumsy theological commentaries of the Han scholars on the Confucian Classics were being replaced by the free and naturalistic commentaries on *Lao Tse and Chuang Tse and Lieh Tse*. God or Heaven was now considered as "the general term for all things in the universe." All things are produced "naturally," that is, are so of themselves. The ideal life is the natural one. All universals are artful inventions of the mind and therefore have no reality. Individuals only are real. Man should live as freely as possible. There were loud cries against all social and political institutions and rules which limit the human freedom. And, because such bondages could not be easily removed without a great revolution the philosophers longed for a free life in the ideal or idealized world of the Taoist Immortals, who move about in the clouds and on the winds and who are never subject to the limitations of matter or of the man-made institutions.

While Lao Tse and the naturalistic philosophers were thus becoming the fashion of the day among the intellectuals, it was natural to expect the religion of the state and of the people to widen itself and accept Lao Tse as one of its new gods. It was no mere accident, therefore, that the Emperor Huan Ti (147–167) built an altar to

Lao Tse in his Palace and worshipped him together with the Buddha. A temple was also built in the supposed birth-place of Lao Tse, and the existence of this temple was mentioned in the imperial edict dated 222. Such examples were easily followed by the common people who were always eager to flock to new deities. As a matter of fact, early in the second century, there had already arisen a popular movement of Taoism in western China under the leadership of Chang Ling who founded a Taoist Sect in which every convert was taxed five bushels of rice; hence the name of "Five-Bushel-Rice Taoism." The Emperor was probably influenced by the popular worship of Lao Tse just as he was influenced by the gradual spread of Buddhism among the people. Towards the last decades of the second century, the popular Taoist movements became so strong as to assume the form of political rebellion. A Taoist Sect in northern China had acquired so large a following in 20 years' time that it was able in 184 to start a great rebellion which, in the course of a month, was apparently spreading all over the whole empire. The leader of the rebellion was Chang Chio, the founder of the Tai Ping (Eternal Peace) Taoism; and the movement was known in history as the Rebellion of the Yellow Turbans, because the rebels wore yellow turbans as a mark of identification. That Rebellion was crushed after some very great effort on the part of the leaders of the Government troops: but the Empire never recovered from its effects. The Han Empire broke up into many military camps and finally dissolved into the Three Kingdoms. The "Five-Bushel-Rice" Sect in western China also developed into a political rebellion in 184 and the Chang family at the head of the movement was able to hold a large territory between modern Shensi and Szechuen for over 30 years as an independent state. After its peaceful surrender to Ts'ao Ts'ao's expedition in 215, the Chang family was well treated by the Government and this Sect of Taoism was allowed to continue to spread among the people. It was this Sect which developed later into Taoism as one of the three great religions in China. The Taoist Papacy was held by the descendants of the Chang family for many centuries until it was finally abolished by the Nationalist Revolution in 1926.

This Taoist Movement was again the old Sinitic religion reappearing under a new name. The name of Confucianism had lost its magic appeal in an age when Lao Tse and Chuang Tse were the sources of intellectual inspiration. Therefore the religion of the populace also accepted *Lao Tse* as its new deity and his text of 5,000 words as their sacred scripture. The Chang family in western China required every convert to read the text of Lao Tse in addition to the forged texts of their own. They were polytheists and believed in the existence of ghosts. They practiced healing of the sick by meditation on one's own past action, by prayer and repentance, and by charity. Confession of sin was required of all converts. Sin might be absolved by repairing roads to the length of 100 yards. The Chang family which led the movement for three generations, were good organizers and laid the foundation for the future Taoist organization. They organized charity stations throughout the region, at every one of which rice and meat were stored to feed the travellers. They also organized a Taoist priesthood which, in those last days of the decaying Empire, took the place of the civil and police officials of the various localities, and actually assumed the functions of government in the district occupied by the Chang family.

The underlying idea was one of theocracy based upon the old conception of close relationship between the action of man and the supervision of the gods. The whole idea was diametrically opposed to the naturalism of Lao Tse and his school. It was sheer irony of fate that Lao Tse the naturalistic philosopher and atheist, was deified as one of the great gods of Taoism. When the Li family founded the great Tang Empire in the seventh century, they were ashamed of their foreign ancestry and claimed to have descended from Lao Tse whose family name was supposed to be Li. This petty motive led to the exaltation of the Taoist religion to the highest position in the Empire of Tang.

V

But a new age had come through the introduction of Buddhism into China and its gradual spread during the first three centuries of the Christian era. By 65 A.D. it was already embraced by a Prince of the Imperial Family; and by 165, it was accepted by the Emperor Huan Ti. By 200 we find it was defended by one of the native scholars in southern China. By 300, it was talked about by all Chinese intellectuals as the greatest system of philosophy ever invented by the genius of man.

The story of Buddhism in China is too well known to deserve a detailed account here. It remains for me to point out that Buddhism came at a most propitious moment, at a time when the leading thinkers of China were devoting themselves to the naturalistic and nihilistic speculations of Lao Tse and Chuang Tse which were easily linked up with the nihilistic philosophy of Buddhism and in particular with the philosophy of Vacuity of the School of Nagarjuna. When Buddhism had succeeded in disarming the intellectuals, its future conquest of China was assured. As to the common people, the time was also favorable. It was an age of Taoist activity, and all the grandiose rituals, worships, spells and magic of Mahayana Buddhism were readily accepted by the people as a more splendid and more magnificent form of religious activity. Shortly after 300 A.D. the Barbarians settling in northern China arose in open rebellion and the feeble Chin Dynasty was unable to cope with the situation. The whole of northern China was soon occupied by the Barbarians who founded their Kingdoms and fought among themselves. The Chinese Dynasty moved to Nanking and founded the Southern Empire which continued to exist till it was conquered by the Shui Empire in 589. The wars and the devastations both in the north and in the south were also an important factor in making many people turn to the Buddhist monasteries for shelter and for spiritual consolation. The Buddhist monks were exempt from all taxation, forced labor and military service. They belonged to a mendicant order which lived on charity. The suffering population of the age naturally flocked to it and made Buddhism the greatest and most influential religion in the course of a few centuries.

Apart from its nihilistic affinity with the Taoist philosophy, Buddhism was opposed to all the best traditions of China. Its celibacy was fundamentally opposed

to the Chinese society which regarded the continuation of the ancestral line as the greatest duty of every man. Its mendicant system was distasteful to the Chinese political and social thinker who was naturally alarmed by the prospect of large numbers of people turning into parasites on society. Its austere forms of asceticism and self-sacrifice were also against the humanist tradition of the Confucianist School which regarded the human body as the sacred inheritance from one's parents. And its truly wonderful output of abstruse metaphysical thinking, never ending in most ingenious hair-splitting and never failing in beautiful architectonic structure, was most foreign to the simple and straightforward ways of thinking of the native Chinese.

Yet it was a most impressive system of religious ideas and practices. The Chinese had never seen the like of it. As the proverb goes, "the little witch sees the great witch," and acknowledges her crushing defeat. China was dazzled, baffled and conquered. Millions deserted their homes and became monks and nuns. Thousands of books of Buddhist Scriptures were translated under Imperial patronage. Millions of acres of land were donated to the Buddhist monasteries. Thousands of temples and monasteries sprang up in all parts of the Empire. Scholars, statesmen, court ladies and empresses, princes and emperors called themselves devout followers of the Buddha and his law. India was regarded as the Western Heaven whence had come all the light, all the blessing and all the inspiration. Everything that came from India was sacred. Hundreds of pious students, including such great names as Fa Hsien and Hsuan Tsang, braved great hardships and travelled long distances in order to study at the feet of some great Buddhist master in India and to bring back some sacred texts for translation and study.

Even the worst features of Mahayana Buddhism, such as Tantricism and human sacrifice, were humbly accepted as integral parts of the great religion of India. After the translation by the great translator Kumarajiva (died 413) of the Lotus' Sutra (Saddharma Pundarika), it became a fashion for Buddhist monks to burn a finger, an arm or even the whole body as the supreme sacrifice to some Buddhist deity. These monks would tie their own bodies with cloth soaked in oil, seat themselves on specially constructed platforms before thousands of wailing and worshipping men and women, light the fire with their own hands, and burn themselves slowly to death while continuing pronouncing the sacred names of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, with the firm conviction that they would surely be received by them in their worlds of eternal bliss. The two Buddhist Biographies compiled in 519 and 654 contained lives of scores of monks who had thus sacrificed themselves. In the first of these series, seven of such suicides were recorded which occurred within the brief space of 40 years (451–491). One case took place in Nanking in 463 and was witnessed by the Emperor Hsiao-wu Ti of the Southern Dynasty together with the whole Court and tens of thousands of wailing populace. Truly has humanist China become fanatically religious under the hypnotism of the Indian religion! When we recall the opening paragraphs of the Confucian Classic on Filial Piety which teaches us that every hair of our body is the sacred heritage from our parents and must not be impaired or injured, then we shall realize that the conquest by Buddhism was really complete.

VI

After several centuries of bewilderment and submission, China began to resent this national subjection to the religion of India. What was to be done in order to free China from the yoke of Buddhist domination? There were three roads open: persecution and boycott; imitation and substitution; and, lastly, transformation and absorption. China tried all three methods and at last won her War of Independence. These words sum up the history of the Chinese Renaissance and Reformation.

It has been said that the Chinese people are the most tolerant in religious beliefs and practices. Nothing can be farther from historical truth. The Buddhists remember the four great persecutions by the phrase of "three *wu* and one *tsung*" (三武一宗). Buddhism was summarily persecuted and suppressed in 446 under the Emperor Tai-wu Ti of the Wei Dynasty; in 574 under the Emperor Wu Ti of the Northern Chou Dynasty; in 845 under the Emperor Wu Tsung of the Tang Dynasty; and in 955 under the Emperor Shih Tsung of the Later Chou Dynasty. These were the "Catastrophes of three *Wu* and one *Tsung*." The first three emperors were honored with the posthumous title of Wu (武 moral courage), because their action in persecuting and suppressing an alien religion had won for them the moral approval of the Confucianist Doctors at the Court. Of these persecutions, the first two and the last one were not exhaustive because they took place at a time when China was not fully unified. The most terrible persecution was that of 845 under the united empire of Tang. It destroyed 4,600 large monasteries and over 40,000 small ones, forced over 260,000 monks and nuns to return to lay life, and confiscated billions of acres of monastic land property. It did not kill Buddhism entirely, but it destroyed such other foreign religions as Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism and Nestorian Christianity. It took place only 30 years after the Confucianist scholar Han Yu (d. 824) had coined the famous slogan against Buddhism: "Man (i.e. secularize) their people, burn their books, and use their dwellings!" Han Yu's famous essay has been read by every Chinese student during the last seven centuries.

Meanwhile, the Taoists were very busy in imitating everything which the Buddhists had to offer. They developed their priesthood after the model of the Buddhist brotherhood but left out the requirement of celibacy. They manufactured a Taoist Canon with hundreds of volumes of "sutras" written in the form of the Buddhist sutras. They accepted the doctrines of transmigration of the soul and of Karma or causal retribution throughout the successive existences. Pre-Buddhist China had no conception of Heaven and Hell as places of dwelling or judgment after death. But India supplied not only one Heaven, but 33 Heavens; not only one Hell, but 18 Hells. All these were accepted by Chinese Taoists and given Chinese names with Chinese deities presiding over them. The Taoists went so far as to invent a sutra in which Lao Tse was made to continue his westward journey and settle down in India where he civilized the Barbarians and founded Buddhism! In short, the Taoists were anxious to build up an "imitation religion" which was intended to substitute the alien religion from India. The net result is that they succeeded in producing a bastard religion in which all the worst elements of Buddhism were intermixed with the worst elements of old and new Siniticism.

Neither persecution nor slavish imitation was sufficient to achieve the overthrow of Buddhism in China. Buddhism was all the time undergoing internal evolution and transformation under the influence of the Chinese environment and tradition. The process of internal transformation began about the end of the fourth century when the Chinese leaders of the Buddhist Order decided that the essence of the Buddhism lay in the twofold road of salvation through meditation (dhyana) and philosophical insight (prajna). Both roads must be sought within one's self. Thus was begun the Chinese movement for comprehending the whole Buddhistic system under the one word of Ch'an or Zen (dhyana) which was to include both meditation and insight. The Tien-tai School was an early stage of this great movement; it called the twofold road by the terms *chih* (止) and *kwan* (观) which are the same things as meditation and insight.

In all its early stages, the movement was never free from the Indian conception and practice of dhyana which Buddhism had inherited from Pre-Buddhist India and which had developed a detailed technique beginning from breath-control and arising to the highest states of spiritual joy and peace. It was claimed that the practitioner could attain supernatural powers through such processes of concentration and meditation.

A new departure took place about 700 when an illiterate monk in Canton started a revolution by discarding all such extraneous methods of dhyana practice. "Buddhahood is within you!" When you have recognized the Buddhahood within yourself, you have attained your "Sudden Awakening" and achieved your salvation. This line of thought was further developed in the eighth century by Ma Tsu (马祖 d. 788) and in the ninth century by I Hsuan (义玄 d. 866). Ma Tsu taught that there was no Buddhahood to attain and no Buddhist Law to abide by. "Allow your good self to take a rest, and set the mind free." That was all. I Hsuan went still further by developing something which approached open iconoclasm. He called all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and Patriarchs by very indecent names and swept them all aside. "I have no truth to tell you. I am here to beat the ghosts out of you. Have confidence in yourself, and don't be deceived by the humbugs. Be natural and take a rest."

All these are simple platitudes which at best were pungent expressions of the familiar truths of the ancient naturalistic philosophers. But these Zen Buddhists developed a peculiar method of teaching which, broadly speaking, consisted of two essential steps. The first step is "never to tell anything in too plain language." If a novice asks you what truth is, give him a box on the ear and tell him to hide his shame in the kitchen. Or shout at him a deafening shout. Or tell him that you bought a pair of straw sandals for 17 cash. If the novice does not understand you, which is usually the case, then tell him to try his luck with some other great master at some other Zen school. So he takes to travelling which constitutes the second part of the pedagogical method. He travels from one mountain to another and studies under different masters who, after the ninth century, were employing more or less the same technique in teaching. So he travels on, and his experiences are widened and enriched by seeing the beauty and grandeur of nature, by suffering the hardships attendant upon such lonely travellers, by coming into contact with

the greatest minds of the age, and by befriending kindred souls troubled by more or less similar problems. Then, some day, he hears a chance remark of a bar-maid, or the chirping of a bird on yonder tree, or smells the fragrance of a little flower, and all of a sudden, he understands! His experiences seem to have been suddenly correlated, his insight seems to have been deepened without his knowing, and the old problems seem so simple, so easy of solution. Everything seems now so self-evident. He has attained!

And then he travels all the distance back to his first teacher. With tears of gratitude and love, he thanks him for having never told him anything. That is Chinese Zen.

Zennism, which was no Buddhism at all, was the result of centuries of internal evolution within Buddhism itself. Almost unconsciously the rationalistic mentality of the Chinese race gradually asserted itself and brought about this peculiar transformation. Zen meant dhyana; but Chinese Zen became Hamlet with Hamlet left out. It was merely a method, a highly sophisticated method of intellectual discipline. If it teaches anything at all, it teaches the emancipation of the mind from all unfruitful seekings after Buddhahood or Nirvana or the Pure Land. There is no salvation to achieve, no Buddhahood to attain, and no magical powers to acquire.

VII

After four centuries (700–1100) of such intellectual discipline, China was ready to go a step further and to replace Zen with the Rational Philosophy of Neo-Confucianism. The Zen Movement, though essentially Chinese, was still a Buddhist Movement. Its great leaders were still Buddhist monks. Its ideal was still the enlightenment and emancipation of the individual. What was that emancipation for? The question was never raised. Moreover the methodology of Zen was too subjective; there was no objective criterion with which one's success or failure in understanding might be judged. This absence of objective standards led to much superficial imitation and even deception.

The movement of Neo-Confucianism was an entirely secular movement led by men of scholarship and political activity. Its ideal was the extension of knowledge and the perfection of the individual; but the perfection of the individual was not an end in itself; it was only a step towards the larger task of better ordering the family, the state and the world. The end was social and political. Moreover, these Confucianists condemned Zennism as "subjective philosophy" which denied the existence of objective reason. They postulated the basic concept of *Li* (reason) which has universal validity and which the human mind is capable of seeking and verifying. Hence the name of Rational Philosophy.

The time was ripe for the rise of secular philosophies in China. The printed book had been invented in the nineth century, and books were being printed in large numbers in the Sung period. Schools were established throughout the Empire and scholarship was highly valued. And many centuries of Buddhist and Zennist training in speculation and philosophizing had given the Sung scholars an intellectual insight

never possessed by the crude Confucianists of the Han Empire. The philosophers of the Sung dynasty now turned to the Confucian and post-Confucian Classics and found in them new meanings and new ideas which the Han schools had never detected. They have, as it were, re-discovered a new Classical Past, just as the Humanists of the European Renaissance have re-discovered a new Greece and a new Rome which had escaped the attention of the Middle Ages.

The significance of the Neo-Confucianist Movement lies in this attempt to reconstruct the Classical Past as a new foundation for a secular philosophy, a secular education and a secular civilization to take the place of the Buddhist-Taoist civilization of Medieval China. The greatest leaders were Cheng I (程颐 1033–1107), Chu Hsi (朱熹 1130–1200) and Wang Yang-ming (王阳明 1472–1528). Under the leadership of these men and a host of others, the Confucian texts were re-interpreted and made easily accessible and intellectually interesting. On the basis of such re-interpretations, they have built up their own rational philosophies. In the course of a few centuries, rational philosophy became the fashion of the age and absorbed the attention of the greatest geniuses in all parts of China. Buddhism and Zennism, no longer attracted the first-class minds of the country, and were in no position to rival the powerful tide of Rationalist Confucianism. Without a single persecution since 955, Buddhism, together with Zennism slowly faded away and died a natural death.

But Rational Confucianism, though highly successful in its mission to replace the Medieval religions, was itself the product of Medieval China and was never entirely free from the powerful influences of those religions. Cheng I, the founder of Rational Confucianism, laid down this formula for the new learning: "For moral cultivation, we must practice Reverence (敬); for intellectual improvement, we must extend our knowledge to the utmost." These two phases were hailed by Chu Hsi as the "two wings of a bird and the two wheels of the cart." The whole development of Rational philosophy in later ages has centered around these two problems, reverence and extension of knowledge.

With regard to extension of knowledge, Cheng I and Chu Hsi agreed that the road lay in the investigation of things. "In every human mind, there is the knowing faculty; and in everything, there is its reason. The incompleteness of our knowledge is due to our insufficiency in investigating into the reason of the things. The student must go to all things under heaven, beginning with the known principles and seeking to reach the utmost. After sufficient labor has been devoted to it, the day will come when all things will suddenly become clear and intelligible." This formulation by Chu Hsi sounds almost like a statement of the problem and procedure of what is now called science, and it is undoubtedly a great step in advance over the shouting and nonsensical paradoxes of the Zen masters.

But, we are tempted to ask, what is the meaning of such emphasis on Reverence? The word was taken from the Confucian Analects where reverence simply meant taking things seriously and with reverent care. But the Sung philosophers and their successors developed all kinds of theories about reverence. One taught his students to practice meditation and sitting "like a clay idol." Another said that reverence was the same as quietude. Another formulated its method as "contemplating what the state of mind is like before the rise of any feeling or emotion." The more esoteric

schools of Rational Philosophy frankly taught that meditation and contemplation were the true roads to knowledge, and that going to things could lead us nowhere.

Are we not justified in pointing out that the twofold method of Rational Philosophy as formulated by Cheng I and Chu Hsi, was nothing but a new version of the Medieval formula of Dhyana and Prajna, of meditation and insight? The great Zen masters had discarded meditation. But the Neo-Confucian philosophers never realized that the ghost of medievalism was re-born in their own philosophic systems and was destined to make them sterile and useless. The ideal of investigating into all things under heaven and extending our knowledge to the utmost was a difficult and thorny path open only to those few courageous and strenuous souls who would willingly follow wherever their curiosity and thirst for knowledge led them. But even they would invariably fail without the necessary equipment and rigid methodology. As to the vast majority of philosophers, it was but natural for them to choose the road of reverence and meditation and close behind them once for all the path of investigation into the reason of things. It was no wonder, therefore, that the Rational Philosophy of the sixteenth century degenerated into a frank revival of the empty meditation and subjective speculation of Medieval China. Some great thinkers arose in the 17th and 18th centuries and sought to check this unfruitful tendency and revolt against Rational Philosophy. But the dead weight of tradition was so great that these philosophical radicals, such as Yen Yuan (顏元 died 1704) and Tai Chen (戴震 died 1777), were little understood and their works remained almost unnoticed till very recent decades.

I think the story I have thus sketched is sufficient to show how closely religion and philosophy have been associated in the history of the cultural development in China. At every stage in this long history, the rationalizing and humanizing effort of Chinese philosophy has been frustrated and minimized by the tremendous force of the religion of the state and the people. This force became all the more formidable and impregnable when the comparatively simple Sinitic religion of the native people was reinforced by the gigantic religion of Mahayana Buddhism. Yet the humanistic and rationalistic mentality of the race did not give up the fight in despair. It fought on and finally succeeded in dragging China out of the powerful claws of the Medieval religions and in slowly building up a secular philosophy and a humanistic civilization. The task has been tremendous, and the result, though not fully satisfactory, must be regarded as a glorious achievement. Much remains to be done. Let us hope that, equipped with the new weapons of modern science and technology, the rationalism and humanism of this race may resume the unfinished battle with renewed vigor and achieve what our fathers have failed to accomplish.

Chapter 10
Development of Zen Buddhism in China

For the Chinese version of the same subject, see "Zhongguo chanxue de fazhan" in Hu Shih Yanjiangji (Taipei: Hu Shih jinianguan, 1970), 3 vols., Vol. 1, pp. 87–149.

There are two ways of telling a story. According to the traditional version, the origin and development of Zen Buddhism in China can be very easily and simply told. We are told that this school was founded by Bodhidharma who arrived at Canton in 520 or 526, and, having failed to persuade the Emperor Wu-ti of Liang to accept the esoteric way of thinking, went to North China where he founded the school of Ch'an or Zen (禅). Before his death, he appointed his pupil Hui-k'o (慧可) as his successor and gave him a robe and a bowl as insignia of apostolic succession. According to this tradition, Bodhidharma was the 28th Patriarch of the Buddhist Church in India and became the first Patriarch in China. Hui-k'o, the second Patriarch, was succeeded by Seng-ts'an (僧璨). After two more generations, two great disciples of the fifth Patriarch Hung-jen (弘忍), Shen-hsiu (神秀) and Hui-neng (慧能), differed in their interpretation of the doctrines of the school and a split issued. Shen-hsiu became the founder of the Northern or Orthodox School, while Hui-neng, an illiterate monk in Canton, claimed himself the successor to the Patriarchate of the school of Bodhidharma. This Southern School soon became very popular and Hui-neng has been recognized in history as the Sixth Patriarch from whose disciples have descended all the later schools of Zen Buddhism.

Such is the traditional story of Zen School. I have tried during the last few years to trace the sources of this story and to verify the authenticity of this tradition. From the very beginning, I had grave doubts. In the first place, I found that practically all the documents on which this tradition was based were of a late origin: none of them date back earlier than the year 1000, that is, about 500 years after Bodhidharma and

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Chapter Note: The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Jan., 1932. Vol. 15. No. 4. pp. 475–505.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_10, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

300 years after Hui-neng, who died in 713. These documents do not square with the earlier historical materials produced before the seventh century. In the second place, there are numerous discrepancies in the list of the 28 Patriarchs which has different versions. The list of names of the patriarchs which was transmitted to Japan in the Tang dynasty and is preserved among the Japanese Zennists to-day, differs in many places from that which was officially recognized by imperial decree in 1062, and which has formed the accepted version in China to this day. And lastly, I was troubled by the fact that this simple story of the origin and development of Chinese Zennism failed to give us a satisfactory and connected account of the evolution of Buddhism in China as a whole and of the particular historical position of Zennism in this general evolution. If Zennism were merely an isolated school first introduced by Bodhidharma in the early years of the sixth century, how then could we explain the fact that Tao-hsuan (道宣), the great historian of Buddhism, who died in 667, had already recorded 133 monks in his *Buddhist Biographies* (续高僧传) as practitioners of Zen or dhyana? Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o were among these, and it is clear that as late as the middle of the seventh century, their school was regarded only as one of the main currents in a great movement of dhyana. Surely, if we wish to understand the true history of Zen Buddhism, we must take into account this larger and more general movement of which Bodhidharma's school formed a part.

These considerations have led me to investigate into this problem and take particular pains to guard myself against the danger of using later source-materials for the reconstruction of earlier history. I am here to present a summary of my investigations on the origin and development of Zen Buddhism in China.

I

"Indian religions," says Sir Charles Eliot, "lay stress on meditation. It is not merely commended as a useful exercise, but by common consent it takes rank with sacrifice and prayer, or above them, as one of the great activities of the religious life, or even as its only true activity. It has the full approval of philosophy as well as of theology. In early Buddhism it takes the place of prayer and worship and, though in later times ceremonies multiply, it still remains the main occupation of a monk."

Yoga which is the old generic name for the various practices of meditation or dhyana, was practised by ascetics at the time of Buddha. The two early teachers of the Buddha were yogis. In all hinayana scriptures, yoga is regarded as an integral part of Buddhism. The practitioner is called yogachara and the texts describing its methods and stages of attainment are known under the name of yogacharabhumi. When mahayana Buddhism flourished, the practices of yoga were again incorporated into it. The philosophy of Asanga, for instance, was called Yogachara and his greatest work was entitled *Yogacharabhumi* (瑜伽师地论), the same title as the numerous manuals on yoga practices by Sangharaksha (僧伽罗义), Dharmatrata and Buddhasena (达磨多罗, 佛大先) translated into Chinese during the years 150–410 A.D.

When China began to translate Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, these early yoga manuals were among the first books translated. An Shih-kao whose translations were done in the third quarter of the second century (148–170), attempted a number of such texts. A complete translation of Sangharaksha's *Yogacharabhumi* (修行道地经) was made by Fa-hu (法护) in 284. A selection from a number of such yoga texts was translated by the great translater Kumarajiva in the first decade of the fifth century. At the same time, in Southern China, the great Chinese monk Hui-yuan (慧远) requested Buddha-bhadra to translate the *Yogacharabhumi* of Dharmatrata and Buddhasena into Chinese.

Thus by the first years of the fifth century, Chinese Buddhists were in possession of a fairly large number of such small manuals of yoga or dhyana practice in addition to the detailed descriptions of dhyana and samadhi contained in the four Agamas (Nikayas) of which complete Chinese translations were made during the years 384–442.

The system of yoga practice as taught in these manuals is in general quite the same as that described by Sir Charles Eliot in his *Hinduism and Buddhism* (I, pp 311–322). In brief, it consists of various methods to regulate and control one's mind with the ultimate object of attaining the blissful state of equanimity and achieving supernatural powers of knowledge and action. It begins with such simple practices as control of breath and concentration of thought on some object of contemplation. If the practitioner is troubled by disturbing desires or thoughts, he is taught to dispel them by the aid of philosophic insight. If the disturbing element is sexual desire or worldly vanity, he must contemplate on the vivid horrors of the human body in the process of decay. This is called "insight through the idea of uncleanliness" (不净观). If he is troubled by feelings of anger or hatred, he must check himself by the idea of infinite love,—love for all men and women, love for enemies as well as for friends, and love for all sentient beings. This is called "insight through infinite love" (慈悲观). If he suffers from ignorance, he must be trained to understand that all phenomena are unreal and impermanent: they are accidentally formed by a chance combination of causes and they must be destroyed by an equally accidental working of causes. This is called "insight through correct thinking" (思惟观).

Through these processes the practitioner of yoga expects to attain the four stages of dhyana, the four "formless states" (四无色定) and the five magic powers (五神通 *iddhi*). These I shall not describe in detail. (See Eliot, I, pp. 313–317, and Hu Shih, *Study of Indian Yoga Practice through the Older Translations. Hu Shih Wencun*, 3 vols., pp. 423–448).

The most important thing for the historian of Chinese Buddhism to note is the fact that when these early yoga manuals were translated into Chinese, they were eagerly welcomed and highly esteemed by the Chinese Buddhists. Tao-an (道安 d. 385), the greatest scholar-monk of the fourth century, took great pains to edit the fragmentary translations on this subject and wrote commentaries to each of them. He tried to interpret the doctrines of dhyana in terms of the Taoistic philosophy then prevalent among the intellectual class of the country. In a preface to one of these texts, he said: "The various stages in the control of the breath all aim at the gradual diminution of activity in order to attain the state of non-activity. And the four

states of dhyana are merely stages of gradual forgetfulness for the final blissful achievement of no desire." Any one familiar with the philosophy of Lao-tse can see that Tao-an was attempting to interpret the yoga practices of Indian Buddhism as if they were intended to be the working methods for the attainment of the Taoistic ideals of non-activity and freedom from desire. We must remember that the age was one of tremendous revival of the philosophy of Lao-tse and Chuang-tse, and that it was just this kind of ingenious interpretation which made Buddhist philosophy acceptable and attractive to the Chinese intelligentzia.

The year of Tao-an's death (385) was the year of Kumarajiva's arrival in China. Kumarajiva was undoubtedly the greatest translator of Buddhist texts. During his 9 years (401–409) in Chang-an, he organized a great translation bureau with 800 monks working under him. Ninety-four works were translated under his direction and a large number of these have since become classics in Chinese literature. In addition to his translation of several yoga texts, he translated the *Prajnaparamita Sutras*, the *Saddharma Pundarika*, the *Vimalakirti Sutra*, and the Madhyamika treatises of the school of Nagarjuna. These texts which represent Mahayana Buddhism at the height of its philosophical speculation, were now made attractively accessible to the Chinese Buddhists and paved the way for the rise of the dhyana schools in the following centuries.

While Kumarajiva was making his masterly translations in Ch'ang-an, another great master, Hui-yuan (d. 416 慧远), a disciple of Tao-an, was busy in starting his Buddhist centre at Lu-shan, near Kuling in Kiangsi Province. Hui-yuan was a profound Chinese scholar well versed in the writings of Confucianism and Taoism. Like his teacher Tao-an, he was seeking the essence of Buddhism and found it in the doctrines of dhyana or yoga. In his preface to Buddhabhadra's translation of Dharmatrata's *Yogacharabhumi*, Hui-yuan said: "Of the three phases of Buddhistic life (i.e., moral discipline, meditation and insight 戒定慧), dhyana and insight are of fundamental importance. Without insight, meditation cannot attain the highest state of quietitude. Without meditation, wisdom cannot achieve its profundity of insight… I regret very much that since the introduction of the Great Religion into the East so little is known of the practices of dhyana that the whole structure is in danger of collapse because of the lack of the solid foundation of meditation."

This quotation is significant in showing the high esteem with which dhyana was regarded by the Chinese Buddhists of the intellectual class. As is well known, Hui-yuan was the founder of the Pure Land or Amitabha Sect in China. In the older yoga manuals translated into Chinese, concentration of one's thought on the Buddha was commended as an aid to meditation. The method was to picture to one's self the image of the Buddha and to contemplate in imagination all the 32 major forms and 80 minor forms of splendor and grandeur which the Buddha was said to have attained at the time of his birth, and so on. The Amita texts taught a much simplified doctrine which promised rebirth in the Pure Land of infinite longevity and infinite light on the only condition of absolute faith in the reality of this paradise and of the Amitabuddha who presides over it. Viewed in the light of historical evolution, the idea of the Land of the Amitabha is a part of the dhyana methodology; and the very title as well as the content of such a text as the

Amitayur-dhyana-sutra is suggestive of this interpretation. A doctrine of such simplicity had little attraction to the peculiarly metaphysical mind of the Indian people but its very naive simplicity appealed to the Chinese mind which had never known any complicated system of religion or metaphysics until it came into contact with Buddhism.

It is a most significant fact that the first Chinese sect of Buddhism was one of such extreme simplicity and that this sect was founded, not by the common folk, but by a monk-scholar of great reputation and no mean learning. And we must remember that among the first 123 members of the Lotus Society founded by Hui-yuan, there were at least half a dozen men who were well known as Confucianist scholars. All this points to a fundamental difference in the mentality of the Chinese and the Indian peoples, a difference the understanding of which is absolutely essential to the history of Buddhism in China.

The Chinese mentality is practical and abhors metaphysical speculation. All the religions and philosophies of ancient China were free from the fantastic imaginativeness and hairsplitting analysis and gigantic architectonic structure which characterize all religious and philosophical literature of India. When China was brought face to face with India, China was overwhelmed, dazzled and dumbfounded by the vast output of the religious zeal and genius of the Indian nation. China acknowledged its defeat and was completely conquered.

But after a few centuries of bewilderment and enthusiasm, the Chinese mentality gradually re-asserted itself and began to search for those things which it could really understand and accept. It now undertook to sift from this vast literature of Buddhism those elements which might be regarded as essentials in distinction from the impressive images and grandiose rituals and unintelligible metaphysics and superstitious charms and spells. Tao-an and Hui-yuan declared that they had found those essentials in dhyana and insight.

But the whole system of dhyana practice, even in its concise form as presented in the translated manuals, was not fully understood by the Chinese Buddhists. The four dhyanas, the four stages of formless sublimity, and the five states of transcendental powers were vaguely interpreted in terms of the native cult of Shen-hsien or Immortals which had had quite a vogue ever since the days of the Empire of Ch'in. The best proof of this is the following quotation from Hui-chiao (), the scholarly historian of Buddhism and author of the first series of *Buddhist Biographies* which was finished in 519. In his general summary of the biographies of "practitioners of dhyana," Hui-chiao said: "But the apparent utility of dhyana lies in the attainment of magic powers (*iddhi*) which made it possible to accommodate the whole world or even worlds in a tiny pore in the skin, or to solidify the four seas into a piece of cheese, or to go through a stone wall without obstruction, or to transport a vast multitude of people at a wave of the hand."

Hui-chiao's *Biographies* which covered the whole period of early Buddhism in China from the first century to the year 519, contained only 21 names of "practitioners of dhyana" out of a total of about 450. And practically all of the 21 dhyana monks were recorded because of their remarkable asceticism and miraculous powers. This shows that in spite of the numerous yoga manuals in translation, and in

spite of the high respect paid by intellectual Buddhists to the doctrine and practice of dhyana, there were, as late as 500, practically no Chinese Buddhists who really understood or seriously practised dhyana or Zen.

II

The great Hui-yuan died in 416. By this time, the Chinese had embarked on their search for a way of simplifying and purifying Buddhism in order to make it more acceptable to the Chinese mind. Some great minds had turned their eyes on dhyana, but dhyana as it was then presented to them was still too Indian to be easily accepted by the Chinese. A further simplification and a more radical purification were needed before there could be a truly Chinese movement of Zen Buddhism. This was to be the work of the next three centuries after Hui-yuan's death.

Chinese Zennism arose not out of Indian yoga or dhyana but as a revolt against it. Failure to understand this accounts for all failures on the part of European and Japanese scholars to understand Chinese Zennism.

Chinese Zennism as it has been understood since the end of the seventh century, called itself "the School of Sudden Awakening or Enlightenment" (tun-tsung, 顿宗). The founder of this school was neither Bodhidharma, nor Hui-neng, but the philosophical monk Tao-sheng (道生) who was a disciple of Hui-yuan and of Kumarajiva. Tao-sheng was a very learned scholar of great brilliancy and eloquence. Visitors to the Tiger Hill near Soochow will be shown the large flat rock which is still called the Lecture Platform of Sheng-kung (生公说法台) (i.e., Tao-sheng) where he was supposed to have lectured with so powerful eloquence that even the stones nodded their heads in assent.

Tao-sheng was a revolutionary thinker, and is recorded by the historian Hui-chiao as having made this reflection on the general trend of Buddhist study: "The symbol is to express an idea and is to be discarded when the idea is understood. Words are to explain thoughts and ought to be silenced when the thoughts are already absorbed. Ever since the introduction of Buddhist scriptures to the East, the translators have met with great impediments, and the people have clung to the dead letter and few have grasped the all-comprehensive meaning. It is only those who can grasp the fish and discard the fishing net that are qualified to seek the truth."

The last figure of speech refers to a saying of the philosopher Chuang-tse who said: "The fishing net is to get fish. Take the fish and forget the net. The snare is to get the rabbit. So take the rabbit and forget the snare." The nihilistic influence of Lao-tse and Chuang-tse has always had an emancipating effect on the Chinese mind, and Tao-sheng was only the natural product of an age which, as has been pointed out, was one of Taoist revival.

So Tao-sheng came forward with his destructive criticism. He propounded two famous theories, one of which was on the thesis that good action requires no return (善不受报) which strikes a hard blow on the Indian conception of merit. But the most far-reaching theory of his was the idea of Sudden Enlightenment (顿悟) which

means that Buddhahood can be achieved through immediate awakening without having to undergo the long and arduous processes of merit-accumulation and dhyana practice. In his public lectures, he declared that the logical conclusion of the *Parinirvana Sutra* would be that even the *icchantika* (i.e., one who did not accept Buddhism) was capable of attaining Buddhahood. All these radical ideas so alarmed the conservative monks that they all attacked him and publicly banished him from Nanking. But many years later, the complete text of the *Parinirvana Sutra* arrived in Nanking and there it was found that the *icchantika* was held to be capable of attaining Buddhahood. So our rebel philosopher was vindicated and died in glory in the year 434.

The biographer Hui-chiao said: "Because his interpretation of the *icchantika* had been established by scriptural evidence, his theories of Sudden Enlightenment and of Goodness Requiring No Reward were also highly honored by the Buddhists of the time." The same historian reported that the Emperor Wen-ti of Sung (424–453) took great liking to the theory of Sudden Enlightenment and held public debates on it. He made inquiries to secure monks who could expound this theory after the death of Tao-sheng; and when he found Tao-sheng's disciple Tao-you he immediately invited him to his Court and held another debate on this doctrine. He enthusiastically applauded when Tao-you scored a victory over his orthodox opponents. A doctrine which received such favorable patronage from the Imperial Court could not but find its way to general acceptance.

Thus was fought the first battle in the Chinese Revolt against the Buddhist conquest. The war-cry was Sudden Enlightenment versus Gradual Attainment. This war-cry was the very instrument of simplification which Tao-sheng's predecessors had been seeking. It was destined in the course of a few centuries to sweep away all worship and prayer, all constant incantation of sutras and dharanis, all alms-giving and merit gathering, and even all practices of dhyana or Zen. When it had finally succeeded in overthrowing the Indian dhyana itself, then there was the real Chinese Zennism.

III

But Indian dhyana also went through a process of simplification and systematization during the sixth century, and in its simplified and systematized forms it furnished the basis for several interesting movements. Of these, the most important are the school of Bodhidharma and the T'ien-t'ai School (天台宗), both of which had something to do with the development of Chinese Zennism.

The earliest mention of Bodhidharma was in Yang Hsuan-chih's *Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang* (杨之—洛阳伽蓝记) written in 547, in which Bodhidharma is said to have visited and admired the Yung-ning Monastery. As this monastery was built in 516 and became a military camp after 528, Bodhidharma's visit must have taken place during the early years of its glory, that is, about 520 or earlier. This destroys all traditional myth about his arrival in Canton in 520 or 526. The second

earliest record of his life was in Tao-hsuan's Buddhist Biographies which was compiled near the middle of the seventh century. Tao-hsuan's biographies are full of reports of superstitions and miraculous events; but his account of Bodhidharma is totally free from any mention of such mythological incidents and seems to have been based upon earlier records of fairly high authenticity. Here Bodhidharma is said to have first arrived at Canton on the border of the Sung Empire and later gone northward to live under the Wei Empire. The Sung dynasty fell in 479; so his arrival could not have been later than that date. In another biography of the same series, one of Bodhidharma's Chinese pupils in the north is recorded to have moved to the southern Empire during the years 494–497, which is additional evidence for my view of his early arrival. So I conclude that Bodhidharma arrived in Canton about the year 470 and travelled to the northern Empire where he remained until about 520. This view makes his stay in China cover a period of 50 years and is far more satisfactory than the traditional story of his staying in China only 9 years.

But I shall not burden you with more details of such historical criticism which I have published elsewhere (See Hu Shih, *On Bodhidharma*, *Hu Shih Wencun*, 3 vols., pp. 449–466). Suffice to say that I am convinced that the life of Bodhidharma by Tao-hsuan is by far more authentic than all the later accounts which grew up long after the rise of the numerous myths and legends concerning him. According to Tao-hsuan, Bodhidharma was a teacher of dhyana from southern India and taught dhyana in northern China. It was an age of scholastic verbalism and his teaching was little appreciated and sometimes opposed by the Buddhists. He had only two young disciples, Tao-yü and Hui-k'o (道育, 慧可), who served him faithfully and received in turn the secrets of his teaching. He practised a much simplified form of dhyana which is called "Wall Contemplation" (壁观), that is, contemplation in sitting posture facing a wall. He taught that there were only two ways of attaining the truth, by insight and by conduct. Insight consists in a firm belief that all sentient beings possess the same pure nature; that this pure nature is often obscured by extraneous elements which can be removed by practising mental concentration in the form of wall contemplation, eliminating from thought all distinctions of the ego and the non-ego, of the common herd and the attained few, thus gradually leading to the state of nirvana by silently uniting one's self with the truth. The practical approach through conduct implies four phases: forbearance of pain and suffering, resignation to all natural course of causation, elimination of all desiring and seeking, and, lastly, acting always in accordance with the law which is the same as the recognition of the pure nature in all men. These were called "the four courses of conduct."

Tao-hsuan recorded several followers of his school. His disciple Hui-k'o left a poem which says:

> When clouded, the pearl is taken to be a piece of earth ware;
> But when suddenly self-conscious, it becomes the perfect pearl.
> Ignorance and wisdom are one.
> Remember that all things are mere appearances.
> Seeing that your self differs not from the Buddha,
> Why then seek elsewhere for that which is the ideal?

This harmonizes well with the teaching of Bodhidharma and also fits in with the doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment which had become popular during the fifth century.

From all reliable sources, it seems certain that Bodhidharma's school was a school of asceticism. The early members of the school are described by Tao-hsuan as living a very severe ascetic life, each carrying only one dress, one bowl and two needles, begging one meal a day and living sometimes in ruined tombs. When one monk of the school was invited by a family to a vegetarian dinner or to stay overnight with them, he flatly declined by saying, "When there is no man left on earth, I shall then accept your invitation."

Tao-hsuan stated in more than one place that Bodhidharma regarded the *Lankavatara Sutra* (楞伽经) as the only book worth studying, and that his followers used only this sutra as their text. Lanka is modern Ceylon. This sutra is supposed to have been preached by the Buddha on his visit to Lanka, and represents the newer tendencies of southern India. The name of Nagarjuna is mentioned in the last verse. It was natural that Bodhidharma who came from southern India, was attracted by this new sutra.

In the seventh century, the school of Bodhidharma came to be known as the Lanka School (楞伽宗). In a biography of a monk of this school, Fa-ch'ung (法冲) by name, who was still alive when Tao-hsuan compiled his *Biographies*, we find a list of 28 names descending from Hui-k'o. It is interesting to note that the school of Bodhidharma had apparently departed from the original spirit of simplicity and asceticism and had, by the seventh century, produced not a few scholastic commentators on the *Lankavatara Sutra*. Out of the 28 monks mentioned, 12 were authors of separate commentaries the total of which amounted to 70 books.

This is all we know of the School of Bodhidharma. Tao-hsuan who died in 667, never talked about Bodhidharma being the 28th Patriarch of Indian Buddhism. Nor did the great pilgrim Hsuan-tsang who was in India for 16 years; nor did I-tsing who was in southern and middle India for almost 25 years. None of these learned Buddhists spoke of the existence of a Buddhist Patriarchate in India. The myth of the 28 Patriarchs was a sheer invention of the eighth century Zennists.

IV

By the time of Bodhidharma's arrival in China, there came another Indian teacher of dhyana by name of Fu-to (*Buddha*) who also propagated the yoga practice in northern China. From his school came the famous monk Seng-ch'ou (僧稠) who had been a Confucianist scholar of repute before he was converted into Buddhism. Seng-ch'ou put upon himself all the severe discipline of dhyana practice and was praised by the master Fu-to as having reached the highest attainment in dhyana east of the Himalaya Mountains. He was highly honored by the emperors of Wei and of the Northern Ts'i and had a very large following. He died in 560 at the age of 81. He wrote a book in two chapters on "The Method of *Chih and Kuan*."

The title of this book is significant in furnishing a clue to the origin of the T'ien-t'ai School which summarizes its teachings under these two words, chih and kuan (止观), which are Chinese equivalents of *Samatha* or claim and Vipassana or insight. Samatha is the result of meditation and concentration, and Vipassana, that of cultivation of philosophy. The T'ien-t'ai School was probably influenced by Seng-ch'ou, if it was not directly descended from him.

The so-called T'ien-t'ai School was founded by Hui-ssu of Heng-shan in Hunan and Chih-k'ai of T'ien-t'ai in Chekiang, and was often more correctly called the School of Heng-shan and T'ien-t'ai. Hui-ssu (慧思) was a northern monk who practised the Indian dhyana in all seriousness and claimed to have attained its highest stages. About the year 554, he moved into the Southern Empire and by 568 he was in the Heng-shan where he remained until his death in 577. His great disciple Chih-k'ai (智) was a native of Hupeh and after studying under Hui-ssu, settled down as a teacher of dhyana in Nanking. In 575 he went to the T'ien-t'ai Mountains where he spent the rest of his life with occasional visits to Nanking and to Lu-shan. He died in 597 after having enjoyed the highest honors of the emperors of Ch'en and Sui. He was the most influential monk of the age, having built 35 great monasteries, made 4,000 converts, and raised enough contribution for the copying of 15 complete collections of the Buddhist Tripitaka. A large number of commentaries, treatises and other works from his dictation testify to his literary genius and catholic learning.

While Bodhidharma represented an attempt to substitute the newer and greatly simplified dhyana of southern India for the older scholasticism and yoga practice, the School of T'ien-t'ai typified the effort on the part of Chinese intellectual Buddhists to reconstruct some sort of manageable system out of the tremendous and chaotic mass of Buddhist literature. The task was gigantic and required a genius like Chih-k'ai to essay it. This task gives to the school its encyclopaedic character.

The greatest puzzle which had troubled the early Chinese Buddhists had been the tremendous number of sutras all supposed to have been preached by the Buddha himself. It might be granted that the Buddha, being in possession of supernatural powers, was capable of preaching all this in a life-time. But how could all their apparent theoretical differences and inconsistencies and contradictions be explained? As early as the fifth century, Hui-kuan (慧观), a fellow-student of Tao-sheng, suggested the idea of arranging the various sutras as the products of various periods in the life of the Buddha, attributing the Hinayana Agamas to the first period of his teaching activity, the Parinirvana Sutras to the time of his death, and arranging the other Mahayana texts in between them. It was a brilliant idea coming as a natural product of the historically-minded Chinese race. The T'ien-t'ai School seized upon this idea and worked out its details under the general theory of p'an-chiao (判教) or Dividing the Periods of the Teaching. By this theory with its encyclopaedic details, all the differences and contradictions of the sutras were reconciled to the satisfaction of the scholastics of the age.

The doctrine of Chih and Kuan was another attempt at systematization. All the earlier manuals on yoga practice, concise as they may have been to the Indian mind, were still too disorderly and stupidly confusing to the Chinese mind. Chih-k'ai

proceeded to treat the whole system under the two mutually helpful approaches of concentration and insight. He made many trials and finally in his "Elementary Chih-kuan" (小止观), written for his own brother, he produced a true masterpiece of lucidity and brilliancy, which to this day has remained one of the most widely read books in China and Japan.

The T'ien-t'ai School, however, remained a school of Indian dhyana, which, though simplified and systematized, was still alien to the Chinese race. Moreover, Chih-k'ai's ambitious attempt at encyclopaedic systematization had unfortunately included too much and discarded too little of the worst elements of the Buddhist religion. His school was highly praised by Tao-hsuan as the only sect which did not emphasize esoteric contemplation at the expense of profundity of scholarship in the scriptures. But, after all, the scholarship of T'ien-t'ai was nothing but a Chinese monkeying of Indian scholasticism. And scholasticism it remained throughout the later centuries until it was totally obliterated by the rise of Chinese Zennism.

The T'ien-t'ai School made an incidental contribution to the later development of Zennism. In its desire to become the orthodox sect of Buddhism in China, the T'ien-t'ai masters claimed their direct lineal descent from the great Mahayana teacher Nagarjuna (马鸣). To authenticate this spiritual genealogy, Chih-k'ai made much use of a pseudo-historical work, the *Fu-fa-ts'ang-chuan*, (付法藏传), supposed to have been translated from Sanskrit towards the latter part of the sixth century, which told of a line of 23 or 24 Buddhist masters, from Mahakasyapa and Ananda to Simla Bhikshu, in continuous transmission of the Law. Nagarjuna was the 13th whom Chih-k'ai called his "great-great-grandfather." This claim gave to the T'ien-t'ai the prestige of being the legitimate movement for the restoration and revival of the Mahayana system, which, according to the *Fu-fa-ts'ang-chuan*, had died out with the persecution and murder of the 23rd Apostle in Kashmir. But it also initiated a bad example of genealogical controversy which was responsible for the invention of numerous lists of Patriarchs, in the eighth century, to establish the orthodoxy of Chinese Zennism.

V

We are now ready to come directly to the real beginning of Chinese Zennism. Toward the last years of the seventh century, there arose in the vicinity of Canton a great teacher, Hui-neng, who was an uneducated and almost illiterate monk, but who, by sheer force of personality and inspiring eloquence and, above all, by the great simplicity and directness of his spiritual message, succeeded in founding a new sect which was in reality nothing short of a Chinese revolt against Buddhism. He was truly the founder of the Chinese Reformation without which all the secular art, literature, and philosophy would probably have been impossible.

Hui-neng taught that Sudden Enlightenment was possible, and he himself was an outstanding example of it. Enlightenment comes when you have clearly seen the Buddha-head in yourself. Seek not outside of yourself: all is within you.

"The Buddha is within you; the Trinity is within you." You have been told to abide by the Buddha, the Law, and the Sangha. But I say unto you: abide by your self. The Buddha is within you, because the Buddha means the Enlightened One, and enlightenment must come from within yourself. The Law is within you, because the Law means righteousness, and righteousness is within you. And the Sangha is within you, because the Brotherhood means purity, and purity is within you.

For the first time in the history of Chinese Buddhism, Hui-neng revolted against dhyana itself. He said: In my teaching, *Ting* (*Samatha*, meditation) and Hui (*Vipassana*, insight) are one, and not two. Calm is the lamp and insight is the light. In all action, walking or resting, sitting or sleeping, always act with a straightforward heart: that is the *samadhi* of one-mindedness. And in all places and all times, always act with intelligence: that is the *prajna-paramita*. Sitting motionless is no dhyana; introspection of your own mind is no dhyana; and looking inward at your own calmness is no dhyana. In thus overthrowing the principal element in the Indian dhyana, Hui-neng was laying the foundation of Chinese Zen which was no Zen at all.

Hui-neng lived and taught in and about Canton and died a comparatively unknown monk, unrecognized by the Buddhist world outside his immediate circles. Wang Wei (王维), who wrote the Epitaph of Hui-neng at the request of his disciple Shen-hui (神会), probably about the middle of the eighth century, said that Hui-neng was a pupil of Hung-jen (弘忍) who was a Buddhist monk of the Lanka School and who taught in a monastery in Huang-mei (黄梅) in the modern province of Hupeh. This Lanka lineage is confirmed by other authentic documents of the eighth century.

Hui-neng called his own school the "Southern School of Bodhidharma." In his early years he was connected with the Lanka School of Bodhidharma. The Lanka School had long remained a school of obscure ascetics and teachers of the Lankavatara. Tao-hsuan in a biography of Fa-ch'ung written in 664–665, spoke of the difficulty of finding the line of descent in the Lanka School. But by the end of the seventh century, a disciple of Hung-jen, by the name of Shen-hsiu(神秀), suddenly burst into national prominence through the patronage and high honors bestowed on him by the great Empress Wu. She invited him to Ch'ang-an in 700 and for 7 years he was honored as "the Master of the Law in the two Capitals and Teacher to three Emperors." Shen-hsiu died in 706 and his pupil P'u-chi (普寂) continued to be in imperial favor for a number of years. In the Epitaph on Shen-hsiu's Tomb, Chang Yueh (张说) wrote what may be called the *first* connected genealogy of the Lanka School after Bodhidharma which follows:

1. Bodhidharma
2. Hui-k'o
3. Seng-ts'an
4. Tao-hsin
5. Hung-jen
6. Shen-hsiu

This list contains two names (Tao-hsin and Hung-jen) not mentioned in Tao-hsuan's list of the Lanka teachers, and probably represents merely one branch of the Lanka School of Bodhidharma. But the high prestige of Shen-hsiu and

P'u-chi lent so much authority to this genealogy that it soon came to be accepted as authentic. Any other school which wished to contest the high position enjoyed by them, must of necessity either question this tradition of succession, or produce its own genealogy.

So, at the height of P'u-chi's popularity and prestige, there came to Loyang a monk, who publicly challenged the historicity of the School of Shen-hsiu in the line of patriarchal descent. This monk was Shen-hui, a disciple of Hui-neng. He accepted the first five names, but declared that the 5th patriarch Hung-jen did not transmit the secrets of the Order to Shen-hsiu who was not capable of understanding the true teaching of the Master. The real successor to Hung-jen was Hui-neng, the illiterate monk who taught the doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment as against the tradition of Gradual Attainment of the other Buddhists. By this time both Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng had long been dead, and there was no effective way of contradicting such a claim. Shen-hui was an eloquent speaker and attracted huge crowds to hear him; and his courage in offering such an audacious challenge to a Teacher of the Emperor must have appealed greatly to the people of the time.

Good luck has led me to discover two documents in the Pelliot Collection of old Chinese manuscripts found in a grotto library of Tun-huang, and by means of internal evidences I have identified them to be records of the sayings and debates of the great Shen-hui whose works had long been lost in China and Japan. From these, I learn that Shen-hui was the first to raise the question of Bodhidharma's predecessors in India. In one of these documents, Shen-hui answered the question in a most ridiculously unhistorical manner. He said that Bodhidharma was the 8th Patriarch after the Buddha, and he quoted the preface of the translated *Yogacharabhumi* of Dharmatrata as his authority, most naively identifying Bodhidharma with Dharmatrata and forgetting that that work was translated at least 60 years before Bodhidharma's arrival in China!

To put a long story short. Shen-hui was making the imperial teachers very uncomfortable by his eloquence and by his pseudo-historical evidences. In 753, the Imperial Censor accused him of "gathering large crowds around him," and he was exiled from the Capital to live in I-yang, and later in other places of exile. But 2 years later the great rebellion of An Lu-shan broke out and Loyang and Ch'ang-an fell one after the other. The Emperor fled to Szechuen and the Empire was tottering. The imperial armies under the great general were in difficulty to get money. It was suggested that money could be obtained by issuing a large number of licenses for admission into Buddhist monkhood.

The eloquence of Shen-hui was commandeered into government service and he made converts by large numbers. It was said that his services in this direction was a great help to the imperial government in re-capturing the lost Capitals and restoring the Dynasty. When the new Emperor returned to the Capital, Shen-hui was invited to the Palace and an urgent decree was issued to build a monastery for him within a prescribed time. The banished heretic now became the honored teacher of the Empire. He died in 758 (or 760). And in 777 an imperial commission with the Heir-apparent at the head decided to make Hui-neng the Sixth Patriarch and Shen-hui the Seventh. The Southern School of Sudden Enlightenment thus finally achieved its

great triumph over the Orthodox School of Gradual Attainment. From this time on, this School has been the Orthodox Sect of Buddhism in China.

In the meantime and in later periods, the absurd list of eight Indian Patriarchs went through many revisions. It was soon seen that it was impossible to have only eight generations in a 1,000 years. So there were numerous suggestions made to lengthen this list, some making it as many as 50, being based on a list of monks of the Hinayana school of Sarvastivadins recorded by Seng-you (僧佑) in the sixth century; others making it 24, 26, 28, 29, or 30, all based on the *Fu-fa-ts'ang-chuan* used by the T'ien-t'ai School. Everybody was inventing a genealogy to suit his own calculation. By the first half of the ninth century, the number 28 was more or less agreed on by general assent. But the personnel still varied in the different lists. The present genealogy of the Patriarchs was the work of the monk Ch'i-sung (契嵩) of the eleventh century and was officially recognized in 1062.

VI

It may seem strange that in all works on the history of Zen written since the tenth century, the Seventh Patriarch Shen-hui is given only a bare mentioning, and that all the later schools of Chinese Zen have claimed their descent, not from Shen-hui, but from two other disciples of Hui-neng, Huei-jang and Hsing-ssu (怀让, 行思), both of whom were unknown figures during their life-time. The explanation is simple. Zennism could not flourish as an officially patronized religion, but only as an attitude of mind, a method of thinking and a mode of living. An officially patronized teacher of Buddhism must of necessity perform all the traditional rituals and ceremonies which the true Zennist despises. Shen-hui succeeded in establishing Zennism as a State Religion, but by so doing he almost killed it. All further development of Chinese Zen had to come from those great teachers who valued simple life and intellectual freedom and independence more than worldly recognition.

The greatest teacher of Zen in the eighth century was Tao-i (道一), better known by his secular family name Ma and called Ma-tsu or the Patriarch Ma (马祖). He came from a Lanka school in Szechuen and later studied under Hui-neng's disciple Huei-jang. The Lanka sutra had taught that words were not necessary to express the truth and that any gesture or motion or even silence might be used to communicate a truth. Ma-tsu developed this idea into a pedagogical method for the new Zen. There is no need to seek any special faculty in the mind for the enlightenment. Every behavior is the mind, the manifestation of the Buddha-nature. Snapping a finger, frowning or stretching the brow, coughing, smiling, anger, sorrow, or desire,…is the functioning of the Buddhahead: it is the *Tao*, the Way. There is no need to perform any special act, be it dhyana or worship, in order to achieve the *Tao*. To be natural is the Way. Walk naturally, sit naturally, sleep naturally, live naturally,—that is the Way. Let the mind be free: do not purposely do evil; nor purposely do good. There is no Law to abide, no Buddhahood to attain. Maintain a free mind and cling to nothing: that is *Tao*.

He was the first teacher to resort to all kinds of strange methods of communicating the truth. The essence of the method is to make the novice to think out the problem for himself. When a monk asked what the message of Buddhism was, he gave him a sound beating, saying, “If I don’t beat you, the world will laugh at me.” Another disciple asked a similarly abstract question, the Master told him to come near and gave him a box on the ear.

One of his disciples was asked by an official what the whole Buddhist Canon was trying to expound, this disciple showed him a closed fist and said, “Do you understand?” “No,” said the official. The monk said, “Fool! You do not recognize a fist?”

An old monk was staying with one of his disciples when the sun shone on the window. The monk asked, “Is it the sunlight that touches the window, or is it the window that touches the light?” Ma-tsu’s pupil looked at him and said, “My brother, there is a visitor in your room. You had better return there.”

Another disciple was asked what the Buddhist Trinity actually meant. He replied, “Corn, wheat and beans.” “I don’t understand.” “Then, let us all be happy and glorify the Trinity.”

Chinese Zennists in the early years had no separate meeting place or monastery of their own. It was Ma-tsu’s disciple Huei-hai (怀海) who first founded the Zen monastery and formulated its rules of government. At the head of the monastery is the Master Monk who occupies a separate room; the other student monks live in the common hall, arranged according to priority. There is no hall of worship, but only a lecture hall, the hall of the Law. This is significant in indicating an almost conscious breaking away from the Indian religion.

The monks are not required to study regular lessons. All are free to move about. At regular times, the Master holds assembly at the Hall of the Law, and the novices all gather around him. There will be questions and answers and discussions.

The food is simple, but the whole community must share the labor in the monastery. Huei-hai himself participated in the manual labor of his monastery. He was the author of the saying, “No labor, no food.” Here again may be seen the radical departure from the parasitic institution of mendicancy practised in Indian Buddhism.

The most interesting thing is that the Zennist monastery as designed by Huei-hai was organized more like a school than a place of religious worship. In fact, the Zen monasteries were the great centres of philosophical speculation and discussion throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. It was not until Zennism had superseded practically all the other sects that the Zennist monasteries came to take up the older rituals and worships which they, as publicly supported institutions, were now expected to perform.

Chinese Zen was an iconoclast movement. After it had discarded the Indian dhyana practice, it went further and revolted against all prayer and worship. Wu-chu (无住), a fellow-student of Ma-tsu in Szechuen and founder of the Zen school at Pao-t’ang Ssu (保唐寺) in Chengtu, who died in 766 and whose teachings have been preserved in the Tun-huang Collection of Manuscripts both in Paris and in London,—was famous for his conscious abolition of all rituals and worship of the

Buddhist religion. In his school, the monks were not allowed to pray, to recite or copy scriptures or to worship painted or carved images of the Buddha.

There is a well-known story told of the Zennist T'ien-jan (天然), better known by the name of his monastery Tan-hsia (丹霞), who died in 824. One night he was stopping at a monastery with a few travelling monks. The night was bitterly cold and there was no firewood. He went to the Hall of Worship, took down the wooden image of the Buddha, and, chopping it to bits, made himself a comfortable fire. When his comrades reproached him for this act of sacrilege, he calmly replied: "Oh, I was only burning the image to extract the sarira (舍利 the sacred bone-relic)." The other monks said: "How can you expect to find the sarira in a piece of wood?" "Well," said Tien-jan, "then, I am only burning a piece of wood."

The ninth century saw the rise of two great masters of iconoclasm, Hsuan-chien and I-hsuan (宣鉴, 义玄). Hsuan-chien died in 865, and I-hsuan, founder of the Lin-chi (临济) School, died in 866. Both of them taught immediately after the great persecution of Buddhism of 845 which had destroyed 4600 monasteries, confiscated millions of acres of land, and forced 260,000 monks and nuns to return to lay life. The persecution which lasted only 2 years, had apparently the effect of purifying the Buddhist religion and elevating the prestige of Zen monks who did not rely upon such externalities as rituals and monasteries, and who could maintain their conviction in huts or caves. It strengthened the belief that a real religion was something apart from the architectural splendor and ritualistic extravagances of the temples and monasteries. It was no accident, therefore, that the great iconoclastic masters arose and taught in the decades immediately following the persecution.

Hsuan-chien taught the doctrine of non-activity which harks back to the teachings of Ma-tsu and reminds one of the philosophy of Lao-tse and Chuang-tse. "My advice to you is: Take a rest; have nothing to do. Even if that little blue-eyed barbarian monk Bodhidharma should come here, he can only teach you to do nothing. Put on your clothes, eat your food, and move your bowels. That's all. No death to fear. No transmigration to dread. No Nirvana to achieve and no bodhi (wisdom) to attain. Try to be just an ordinary man having nothing to do."

Hsuan-chien was fond of using the most profane language in attacking the sacred tradition of Buddhism. "Here, there is no Buddha, nor Patriarch. Bodhidharma was only an old bearded barbarian. The bodhisattvas are only dung-heap coolies. Nirvana and bodhi are dead stumps to tie your donkeys on. The 12 divisions of the Tripataka are only lists of ghosts, sheets of paper fit only for wiping the pus from your skin. And all your four merits and 10 stages are mere ghosts lingering in their decayed graves. Have these anything to do with your own salvation?"

"The wise seek not the Buddha. The Buddha is the great murderer who has seduced so many people into the pitfall of the prostituting Devil." "The old Barbarian rascal (the Buddha) claims that he had survived the destruction of three worlds. Where is he now? Did he not also die after 80 years of age? Was he in any way different from you? O ye wise men, disengage your body and your mind! Give up all and free yourself from all bondages."

"Here in my place, there is not a single truth for you to take home. I myself don't know what Zen is. I am no teacher, knowing nothing at all. I am only an old beggar

who begs his food and clothing and daily moves his bowels. What else have I to do? But allow me to tell you: Have nothing to do: go and take an early rest!"

While Hsuan-chien taught in the South, his contemporary I-hsuan was opening his school in the border of Chihli and Shantung. His school was known as the Lin-chi School which in the next two centuries became the most powerful school of Zen. It is said that he once studied under Hsuan-chien; and it is possible that he inherited the latter's iconoclasm and developed its more constitutive phases into a great school. He made use of all the pedagogical methods of the earlier Zen masters, but his favorite method was that of howling or shouting at his audience.

The greatness of his school lies in the emphatic recognition of the function of intellectual emancipation as the alpha and omega of the new Zennism. He said: "The mission of Bodhidharma's journey to the East is to find a man who will not be deceived by men." "Here in my place there is no truth to tell you. My duty is to lighten the heavy burden of dead weight on your back. My mission is to free men from their bondages, to cure the sick, and to beat the ghosts out of men." "My duty is to kill everything. When the Buddha is in my way, I'll kill the Buddha. When the Patriarchs are in my way, I'll kill the Patriarchs. When the Arhat is in my way, I'll kill the Arhat."

"Be independent and cling to nothing. Even though Heaven and Earth are turned upside down, I doubt not. Even though all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas appear before my eyes, I am not gladdened at heart. Even though the hell-fire of all the three underworlds are thrown at me, I fear not."

"Recognize yourself! Wherefore do you seek here and seek there for your Buddha and your Bodhisattvas? Wherefore do you seek to get out of the worlds? O ye fools, where do you want to go?"

VII

Under the leadership of these great masters, there was developed during the eighth and ninth centuries the full Zennism of China. As I have taken pains to show, it was no work of any single teacher, of Bodhidharma or even of Hui-neng, but it was the culmination of a very long process of gradual evolution. It was the unique product of the Chinese racial mentality reacting after many centuries of Buddhist domination and training. It was the child born of the marriage between Chinese rationalism and naturalism on one hand, and Indian religion and philosophy on the other. Historically, it was a revolt against Buddhism. The first impulse was probably to assimilate Buddhism, reorganizing it under the heading of dhyana. All the earlier movements of dhyana in China, from Tao-an in the fourth century to the schools of Bodhidharma and of T'ien-t'ai in the sixth and seventh centuries, represented this tendency of selective assimilation. Hui-neng, the George Fox of China, began a new epoch by discarding the Indian dhyana altogether and by his great emphasis on Sudden Enlightenment. But this new Chinese Zennism of Hui-neng and Shen-hui did not develop a working methodology. The new development in the eighth and

ninth centuries took two directions: on the one hand, the revolt was carried further by becoming frankly iconoclastic and rationalistic; on the other hand, Ma-tsu and I-hsuan worked out a set of pedagogical methods aiming in general at intellectual emancipation.

Dhyana was discarded and, with it, all the other ideas and practices of Buddhism. "No death to fear; no transmigration to dread; no Nirvana to achieve and no Bodhi to attain." All that was left, was an attitude and a method. The attitude was "to kill everything," "to beat the ghosts out of you," and "to be natural." The method was to find out the truth by your own effort, and "not to be deceived by men."

The methodology of Zen has often been misunderstood. Some regard it as mysticism; others call it sheer humbug. There is no doubt that there is a clear method behind all the apparent madness for which many Zen masters were famous. The method, as far as I can understand it, has two important phases. First, the master must not make things too easy for the novice; he must not preach to him in too plain language, or in any language at all. This is so important that one of the great masters once said: "I owe everything to my teacher because he never told anything nor explained anything to me."

When the novice comes to the master with some such abstract question as the meaning of Zen or the message of Buddhism, the teacher will say to him: "When I was in Nanking last time, I made a coat, weighing 7 pounds." Or, he will say to him, "My dear fellow, how fine are the peach blossoms on yonder tree!" Or, he will shout at him a deafening shout. Or, if he is really deserving, he will get a box on the ear.

So he retires to the kitchen, puzzled and probably burning with shame or with pain on the cheek. He stays on and, after a while, will be told to leave the place to try his luck at some other great Zen school. Here begins the second phase of the method which is technically called "travelling on foot" (行脚).

He travels from one hill to another, presenting his silly questions to the various great masters presiding over the monastic schools. If he fails to understand, he moves on. Most of the famous teachers did much travelling during their period of student-life. A monk travels always on foot, carrying only a stick, a bowl and a pair of straw sandals. He begs all the way for his food and lodging, and often has to seek shelter in decayed temples, caves and ruined houses by the roadside. He has to suffer the severities of the weather and is subject to all forms of danger and hardship.

But all hardships intensify his life. The beauty and grandeur of nature ennobles his mind. He comes into contact with all sorts of people and studies under the greatest minds of the age. He meets kindred souls troubled more or less by similar problems, and he lives with them, befriends them and discusses things with them. In this way, his experiences are widened and deepened and his understanding grows. Then, some day, he hears a chance remark of a charwoman, or a frivolous song of a dancing girl, or the chirping of a bird on yonder tree, or he smells the fragrance of a nameless flower,—and he suddenly understands! All his previous inquiries and searches and experiences become correlated somehow, and the problem seems so clear and the solution so evident! The miracle has happened and he attains his Sudden Enlightenment.

And he travels long distances back to his old master, and, with tears in the eyes and gladness at heart, he gives thanks and worships at the feet of his great teacher who never told him anything.

This is Zen in the Chinese sense.

Chapter 11
Types of Cultural Response

This article was given as the first of a series of lectures on the Haskell Foundation, University of Chicago, in the summer of 1933.

The problem of China, however multifarious and complicated it may seem at first sight, is in reality one of cultural conflict and control. It is the problem of how to bring about a satisfactory adjustment in a situation where an ancient civilization has been forced against its own will into daily and intimate contact with the new civilization of the West; where the old civilization has clearly proved itself hopelessly inadequate in solving the pressing problems of national existence, economic pressure, social and political disorder, and intellectual confusion and anarchy: and where, for reasons hitherto never fully understood or expounded, the new invading civilization has so far not yet succeeded in either grafting itself upon the traditional culture or being extensively adopted and assimilated as a base or a ferment in working out a new cultural equilibrium.

The conflict has reached its most acute stage during the last two or three decades when, in the apt words of a keen observer from the West, "economic, political and intellectual movements, which elsewhere made their way by gradual stages and small increments of growth, are, in the China of to-day, in simultaneous ferment. The Renaissance; nationalism; the attempt to create a sovereign, unified state, and its struggle against local particularism and centrifugal ambitions; the beginnings, on the eastern seaboard and rivers, of an industrial revolution, with the criticisms and aspirations which are its natural accompaniment; the reform of local government, of education, of the financial system, and of the complicated structure of Chinese jurisprudence; the partial dissolution of the venerable institution of the Chinese family, with the whole system of personal responsibilities and social relations of

Chapter Note: The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Jan., 1934. Vol. 17. No. 4. pp. 529–552.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_11, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

which it was the centre—all these, and much else, have been crowded into the space of little more than a generation."[1]

This scene of a serious conflict of the civilizations, viewed in the light of history, is only one of the last scenes of the great drama of World Conquest by the new civilization which began in western Europe and spread both eastward and westward with ever-increasing force and vigor until both its eastward and westward movements finally met in the great arena of East Asia. As the great drama slowly but irresistibly unfolds itself, this new civilization is seen to make fresh conquests at every turn of its onward march, creating two new continents on the Western Hemisphere, crushing every old race and culture in Africa and Asia, and placing the entire Oceania under its domination. A sub-current of this gigantic hurricane which blew in a north-easterly direction from western Europe, has captured the whole of the land of the Slavs, and swept across the vast Steppes, till its head, too, reach the eastern shores of the Pacific.

East Asia is the meeting point of all the three routes of this aggressive civilization. Thus far this onward march has met no serious resistance. It is in East Asia that the grand finale of this drama of world conquest is to be staged. For it is here that the civilization of the West is brought into direct contact and conflict with the two principal centres of the civilization of the East, the continental Empire of China and the island Empire of Japan. Upon the final Westernization of these two empires, depends the completion of the world conquest of this new civilization.

While the ultimate conquest of these two Eastern nations by the civilization of the West seems inevitable, it has been generally observed by all students of contemporary history that China's reaction to Western civilization has been radically different from that of Japan. The difference was so great that it has shaped and conditioned the entire history of these two countries during these seven decades. After 250 years of successfully enforced seclusion, Japan suddenly found herself impelled to adopt almost *in toto* the new ways of the Western invader in order to save herself from the imminent danger of national humiliation and possibly subjugation. This task of nation-wide Westernization has been undertaken with such rapidity and vehemency that in the brief course of little more than half a century she not only has become undoubtedly a past master of all the arts and weapons with which the West once threatened to overpower her, but is now actually threatening to out-Herod the Herods of the Western World in industrial and commercial expansion as well as in military and naval rivalry. On the other hand, China has wasted fully a century in futile resistance, prolonged hesitation, spasmodic but incoherent attempts of reform, and disastrous wars of revolution and internal strife, and to-day she is still displaying to the world the most pathetic spectacle of a once great nation helplessly struggling to stand on its own feet again and groping desperately to find ways and means for the solution of her numerous and pressing problems created and complicated by the impact of the irresistible civilization of the West.

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[1] R. H. Tawney, *Land and Labour in China,* London, 1932, p. 12.

This sharp contrast between the responses of China and Japan to a more or less similar situation of cultural conflict, together with the vastly different outcome in the destinies of these nations, is so striking that one is tempted to pause and speculate whether a comparative study of such differences in the cultural responses may not reveal some useful clue for a better understanding of the problems of cultural control. May we not expect that, from such a comparative study, some generalization may be reached as to the essential factors or conditions which may account for successes or failures, rapidity or slowness, in any given situation of cultural control? And may we not expect that, from such studies, some further light may be thrown on these problems by discovering different and distinct types of cultural response of which the significance may not be fully measured by apparent speed or tardiness, or even apparent success, or failure, in adjusting an urgent situation of conflict? Some such attempt, I believe, is at least worthwhile for its suggestive value, if not entirely for my permanent scientific value.

What, then, are the factors or conditions which have been responsible for the speedy success in Japan's cultural adjustment, and the absence of which helps to explain China's failures? At the outset, let us first eliminate those factors which, like double-edged swords, may be used to prove or to disprove a thesis. For instance, we may very well ignore the relative size and geographical position of China and Japan as decisive factors. For, while a country of small size and insular position may be more readily modernized in matters of communication and transportation, it may be argued with equally convincing logic that a continental empire, like China with vast territory and resources certainly has greater advantages than her island neighbor.

Next, we may also rule out the frequently proffered explanation that, while China, which had never known or met any civilization equal to her own, was too proud to adapt herself readily to the enforced requirements of the new civilization of the foreign invader, Japan was well prepared for Westernization by her long experiences in accepting and assimilating alien ideas and practices introduced from time to time from her continental neighbors. Such a theory is inadequate because, in the first place, it ignores the historical fact that China was at one time under the cultural domination of Buddhist India, which country was revered by the Chinese people as the "Heaven of the West," and from which has come the religion of Buddhism that has for 2,000 years remained one of the three national systems of religious belief and moral teaching. Secondly, it does not explain the very strong resistance of the Japanese against the early advances of Western culture as exemplified in the great persecution of the Christians in the seventeenth century, in the rigid and successful policy of 250 years of seclusion from the outside world,—a seclusion by far more successful than any similar attempt by China,—and in the heroic anti-foreign movements in the middle years of the last century when foreign ships were once more forcing their way into Japanese ports. And lastly, this theory has failed entirely to take into account the very important historical fact that all the early Japanese movements of reform which heralded the new era in Japan, were started and fostered under the double war cry: "Away with the Barbarians and Down with the *Bakufu* (i.e. the Shogun)!" Indeed, this hostile attitude towards the foreigner and his civilization has not died away with the decades of apparent rapid Westernization, and is

now articulately re-asserting itself in the acts and utterances of its military spokesmen.

What, therefore, really needs explanation, is not the existence of resistance to a foreign civilization,—which is universal and natural and without which there would be no problem of cultural conflict to necessitate our study and speculation,—but the more fundamental question: Why and how has Japan succeeded, and China failed, to overcome this natural resistance to foreign culture and achieve an early and speedy readjustment?

As far as I can see, there were three factors which contributed most substantially to the success of Japan's Westernization. First, the existence of a powerful ruling class from which have come all the great leaders of the movements for reform and modernization. Second, the fact that this ruling class was a specially privileged and highly trained military caste, made it possible for Japan to adapt herself easily to one particular phase of Western civilization which the other Oriental nations have found most difficult to learn, and which is most essential in securing national existence against the invading powers of the new civilization,—namely, the phase of military and naval strength that is behind the scientific, technological and industrial civilization of the West. And thirdly, the peculiar political development of Japan for over a 1,000 years has bequeathed to her a suitable and stable basis for a new political framework which has served as a solid centre of gravity for all movements of change and has made steady and continuous progress possible in a situation pregnant with every possibility of discontinuity and revolution. It is these three peculiarly favorable conditions which, I believe, have enabled Japan to achieve what may be described as the most successful attempt of cultural control in any region with which the Western civilization has come into intimate contact. A comparative study of these conditions in Japan and of their absence in China will bring us nearer to a real understanding of the nature of the success and failure of the respective nations.

In any situation of conflict and control, the first question naturally is: Who is to do the controlling? Whence shall come the leadership in the work of control? The existence in Japan of a very powerful ruling class in the person of the daimyo and the samurai, who for centuries past had been the real powers in control of the central and local governments, offered a ready answer to this primordial question. The leadership in the work of national reform must of necessity come from this class. It was but natural that all the members of that brilliant galaxy of statesmanship of the early Meiji era were members of this class: Iwakura and Sanjo were nobles; Ito, Yamagata, Kido and Inouye were samurai of the feudal fief of Choshu; Saigo and Okubo, samurai of the fief of Satsuma; and Itagaki and Okuma, samurai of Tosa and Hizen. It was they who were behind the powers that brought about the end of the 700 years' of the reign of the Shogun and restored the governmental powers to the long oblivious Imperial Dynasty. And it was they who personally played the most important roles in reorganizing the government and the finances, in framing the constitution and organizing the political parties, in founding a new army and a new navy and a new educational system, and in directing the national policies of war and diplomacy.

This leadership of the ex-samurai of the feudal age was powerful and effective, because they belonged to a governing class which was highly honored by the people and, which, with the support of the emperor, had almost unlimited powers to carry their policies into effective execution. It was so effective indeed that it was able to carry out all policies of Westernization in the face of a strongly anti-foreign resentment among the ignorant populace; and to avoid a premature foreign war even at the great cost of encountering a powerful rebellion led by the popular leader Saigo who favored an immediate war with Korea. For 20 years this leadership carried on its work of national reorganization with absolute and autocratic powers, and dictated a constitution when it saw the time had come for a constitutional monarchy.

Such an effective leadership was totally lacking in China. The age of political and militant feudalism had passed away more than 2,000 years ago. A process of social leveling had been going on for so long that the social structure of the nation was almost completely democratized. There was no hereditary aristocracy that could last long decades without being relegated to the ranks of the common people. There was no primogeniture to preserve the big estates from being gradually reduced to nothing through the process of equal division of property among the sons of the family. Although there was always a hereditary nobility of the descendants of the Imperial family, it, too, was periodically swept away by the dynastic wars and by the usual processes of social leveling. The country was governed by a civilian bureaucracy recruited from the people through a system of fair and competitive examinations through which the sons of the poorest farmer or artisan could rise systematically to the highest administrative offices of the empire. But this bureaucracy was one of civil servants and was never born and bred to undertake the leadership of the nation. Great leaders there were, who arose to national pre-eminence and played important parts in times of national crises. But under an absolute monarchy, these statesmen had to rely upon the good will and confidence of their emperors for power and for the opportunity to do their work which might be easily undone by the whimsical displeasure of the throne or by the succession of a new emperor. And they knew very well that there could not be permanence in any work they might achieve, for imperial confidence is fickle and the average length of the reign of an emperor is short. The great statesman Wang An-shih of the eleventh century had the complete confidence of his ruler for 16 years; but when the emperor died, all his reforms were nullified in a single year. The modern reform leader Kang Yu-wei succeeded in winning the confidence of the Emperor Kuang-shu who, in the year 1898, proclaimed a formidable series of governmental and educational reforms which, if persistently carried out, might have greatly accelerated the process of China's Westernization. But even the emperor was no free agent in his policy of reform! His period of great reforms lasted only 100 days and was swept away by the reaction led by his Imperial mother, the Empress Dowager Tsu-hsi.

From the middle of the nineteenth century to very recent times, there were numerous men of intelligence and farsight who saw clearly that the advance of the Western civilization on the Asiatic continent could not be checked, and that that civilization was in many aspects superior to our own. These men wrote and taught and tried to influence those who had powers to effect the needed changes. But these

intellectuals themselves had no power to do anything on any large scale. The few enlightened and farsighted Chinese statesmen who had arisen to highest positions in the Government through their achievements in suppressing the Tai-ping Rebellion (1850–1864), were fully conscious that the Manchu Dynasty and nobility were jealous of their prominence and influence and suspicious of any new project they might undertake. Even Li Hung-chang who was probably the most powerful leader and patron in practically all the early attempts of Westernization such as the organizing of the new navy and army, the building of first railways and steamship lines, and the sending of first Chinese students to study abroad,—even he could not always secure the support and confidence of an ignorant and suspicious Court. When in 1877, the Chinese Minister in London, Kuo Sung-tao, the most farsighted thinker of his time, urged him to go beyond the superficial forms of the army and navy and to undertake a more fundamental programme of national modernization, Li Hung-chang replied in these most pathetic words: "My official duty is to command the military; therefore I cannot but devote myself to the reorganization of the army and navy. Even if I wish to go beyond this and take up the more important and fundamental reforms, it is certain that I shall never be allowed to carry out my wishes. I can only endeavor to do what I can do." And Li Hung-chang lived to see that 20 years later (1898) even his Emperor was not allowed to carry out his wishes for reform!

What a contrast, when we compare this pathetic situation of total absence of effective leadership in China with the ease and efficacy with which ruling class in Japan abolished the Shogunate, re-established the Mikado, and rejuvenated the whole nation! In the absence of a powerful ruling class, leadership in China could not be located anywhere. There was no enlightened despot, for the Manchu Dynasty was already reaching its lowest ebb of racial vitality; no enlightened nobility, for the Manchu nobility and the Manchu military caste were weakened and ruined by two and a half centuries of easy and parasitic living; and no powerful intelligentzia, for long centuries of despotic domination, enticement of official life, and purely literary and impractical education have made the whole intellectual class passive, innocuous and ineffective. The highest ambition of a Chinese scholar of the old times was to "gain the confidence of the monarch and secure power to carry out his policy" (*teh chun hsing tao*). But as such ideal opportunities rarely, if ever, came to him, he could only write books and teach disciples or raise routine to the dignity of policy. And when, in a later period, he came to be more emancipated in his ideas, he would probably turn to preaching and plotting a revolution, as many of his class actually did when every hope for a peaceful reformation had disappeared.

This contrast may be best illustrated by comparing the lives of the leaders of the Japanese reformation with those of some of their Chinese contemporaries. Ito, one of the greatest of the re-makers of Japan, began his life as a samurai of Choshu and was one of the supporters of the anti-foreign policy of his feudal chief. He soon became convinced of the necessity of reforming Japanese institutions after the Western models and desired to go to England to study. Against governmental prohibition, he secretly went to England with his few friends in 1863, working their passage before the mast. After 1 year's stay in London, Ito had to hurry back to

Japan when he heard of the disturbing events happening at home. In the subsequent years, he became one of the most powerful builders of modern Japan. It is interesting to note that, the year after Ito's return to Japan, a Chinese scholar and reformer, Wang T'ao (born 1828), also went to England at the invitation of James Legge, the translator of the Confucian Classics and lived 3 years in England and Scotland. This Chinese contemporary of Ito's was one of those few early advocates of a radical reform of Chinese institutions and laws after the models of the Western nations. In his youth, he tried to influence the leaders of the Tai-ping Rebellion and advised them to establish better relationships with the Western powers. For this revolutionary connection, he was persecuted by the Chinese Government and had to flee to Hongkong for his life. While in Hongkong, he acquired a better knowledge of the English life and civilization through his close contact with the English people. In 1864, when Ito was studying in England, Wang T'ao petitioned Li Hung-chang and urged him to bring about reforms which should aim at the acquisition of Occidental methods for the strengthening of national defence and the increase of national wealth. After his stay in the British Isles and a tour on the Continent of Europe, he became all the more ardent in his advocacy of Westernization. He devoted his remaining years to writing editorials for newspapers in Hongkong and Shanghai and exerted great influence over the reading public of his time. He predicted that, in less than a century, the Chinese people would be able to master all the technique and methods of the Western world and excel the Westerner in his own inventions. But he also prophesied that the adoption of superficial and external things from the West would be worthless and unreliable if such adoption were not preceded by the more fundamental changes in the method of civil service examinations, the education system, the military training and equipment, and the whole system of law and justice. He also often expressed his warm appreciation of the constitutional governments of Europe and mildly hoped that the political system of China might be remodeled after such Western and especially English forms.

When, in 1879, Wang T'ao visited Japan, he was enthusiastically received by the Japanese intellectuals, for his writings were also read by the Japanese scholars who could read Chinese. Had he been born as a member of the governing class in Japan, he could have easily made himself an Ito, an Okuko, an Okuma or at least a Saigo. But here he was welcomed by his Japanese admirers as a great classical scholar, a poet, and an editorial advocate of a modernized China! He died an editorial writer, but he lived long enough to see his Japanese contemporary and friend Ito write laws of financial reform and frame, almost single-handed, the Japanese Constitution which was promulgated in 1889 when Wang T'ao himself was still writing editorials!

The intellectual history of China of the last 70 years is full of such instances of tragic failures of great intellects who wasted their lives and efforts in vain hopes and dreams for a peaceful and orderly reformation of the empire. Kuo Sung-t'ao, the most modern mentality of his age, was cold-shouldered by the Government and persecuted by his own people as a traitor. Ma Chien-chung and Yen Fu, two of the best informed of the cultural heritage of the West, began their careers as young prophets of the new civilization and died with only a few books and translations as

their contributions to China's modern civilization, the former having written the first systematic treatise on Chinese Grammar, the latter having translated some of the works of Adam Smith, J. S. Mill, T. H. Huxley and Herbert Spencer. K'ang Yu-wei came very near the good fortune of his Japanese contemporaries when he reached his heyday during the "Hundred Days' Reforms" in 1898; but he too had to live many years abroad as a political exile and returned to his native country only after the Dynasty which he had sought to modernize and rejuvenate, had already been overthrown by the newer movement of revolution. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Republic tried in 1894 to influence Li Hung-chang by presenting to him a long memorandum embodying what he considered the four fundamental principles of the Western civilization; but he received no responses from the old viceroy and had to devote his energies to what he had early conceived as the only possible road to a new China, namely, the road of a political and social Revolution. And historically he was quite right, for, in the absence of a powerful and effective leadership in any stratum of the social structure, there was no short-cut to national modernization except the long and arduous path of revolution.

Let us now return to the second group of facts in our comparative study of the history of the cultural readjustment in China and Japan,—the facts of the presence in Japan, and the absence in China, of a highly trained and socially respected military caste, and their effect on the process of Westernization in the respective countries, especially in the mastery of the martial phase of the Western civilization, which is the most coveted and at the same time the most difficult to learn by an Oriental race. This phase of the Western culture, including the army, the navy, their organization and equipment, and the arts and methods of warfare, is the most coveted because it was precisely this phase which first forced the non-European races to recognize in the Western invader their most dangerous enemy with weapons of war far superior to their own. It was the phase most easily recognized, most feared, and therefore most coveted by all races with whom the Western culture came into contact. It was recognized by the primitive savage as well as by the most civilized of the old nations. And it was this phase which always served as the beginning of the introduction of other phases of the Western civilization into these non-European countries. The utility and efficacy of the Western arms were very early recognized and accepted by the Japanese samurai and by the Chinese generals fighting the Manchus in the seventeenth century. And it was the same phase which forced China and Japan in the nineteenth century to make the first attempts in the direction of Westernization.

Unfortunately, this most easily recognizable and most eagerly coveted phase of the Western culture is not always easily attainable by every nation. Indeed, it is probably the most difficult aspect for most older nations to acquire. A Chinese scholar once remarked: "It is easy for China to acquire the civilization of the West, but it is very difficult to master its barbarism. Yet I suppose we must first master this barbarism before we can feel at home in this new civilization." By barbarism, he means the military side of the Western culture, which does not consist of mere up-to-date equipment, nor mere efficient organization, nor mere resourcefulness in man and money power, but which must presuppose the existence of what may be vaguely

termed "the martial spirit," under which term may be included the love for adventure, the almost primitive delight in competitive combat, the instinctive love and worship of the warrior, the painstaking cultivation of bodily strength, the habits of obedience, and the readiness to fight and die for an impersonal cause.

Although all these instincts of the martial spirit are natural and universal, they can be dwarfed or even suppressed by long periods of conscious education and unconscious social disapproval. Europe has perpetuated these traits from the days of feudalism; and the existence of fully armed nations rivalling for conquest and expansion in all these centuries has allowed them to be well preserved in the face of counteracting influences arising from intellectual and industrial revolutions. But in some of the Asiatic civilizations these traits are conspicuous by their absence. One of the outstanding examples is in China, where political, religious and social factors have combined to suppress all manifestations of the martial spirit. Two thousand years of unified empire, the absence of warring nations, the comparatively long periods of peaceful reigns during the intervals between dynastic revolutions,—all these have tended to discourage the cultivation of martial habits. The prevailing systems of moral and ethical teaching both of the Confucian and the Taoist schools have also emphasized the importance of the habits of peace and order, and disapproved the cultivation of the arts of war. Buddhism, which dominated Chinese religious life for twenty centuries, has reinforced the pacifist tendencies of an already too peaceful people. Even the most warlike barbarians who from time to time invaded China, could not help catching the contagious influence of this pacifist people and civilization; and in the course of centuries of racial intermixing all these militant conquerors were rapidly de-militarized by the conquered people. As a result of early disappearance of the Feudal Age and as a result of very long processes of social leveling through relegation of aristocratic families to the ranks of the common people, and through the rise of sons of the lowly to become high officials by the method of civil service examination, the whole social structure has become so democratized that there has been no special class of the military that could maintain itself for any length of time. The Manchus did try to maintain such a class, but in little more than two centuries, it entirely disappeared. The soldier has always been regarded as a kind of social outcast, not much better than the bandit. The social esteem attached to the successful candidates of the literary examinations, has made the poet and the man of letters the popular idol in the songs, dramas and novels, and has greatly helped to lower the status of the soldier class in the mind of the people. "No good iron will be made into a nail, no good son will make a soldier." Such a proverb merely reflects the universal sentiments of a people moulded by long ages of pacifist teaching and peaceful living.

In such an atmosphere, it was impossible for China to create a new army and navy recruited from, and officered by, men of the well-to-do and educated class. The stuff that made the soldier and the sailor was the illiterate and unruly of the superfluous population of the country. The government had no respect for it, and society in general paid no attention to it. There was absolutely no enthusiasm for it. The first schools for the training of military officers had to recruit their students, not only by free tuition and board, but also by paying the students a monthly allowance

for coming to attend the schools. General Tien Chung-yu, who arose from a cadet school freshman to the military governorship of Shantung, told me in 1924 that, when he enrolled in the Military Academy established at Shanhaikuan, it was not for any love of the country or glory of the army, but merely for the sake of the three and half taels' monthly allowance which he wanted to save for the support of his large family left destitute by the death of his father. Such officers could rise to power, could make themselves *Tuchuns* or *Super-tuchuns*, but they were not the men to effect the military reformation in China. It was inevitable that the early Chinese attempts at military and naval reorganization were bound to fail. It had to wait for a Revolution and decades of nationalistic agitation and education to gradually elevate the position of the soldier in society and inculcate a little of the martial spirit into the youths of the nation.

In this particular aspect, Japan was the most favored nation with which the Western culture has ever come into contact. There the military caste which included 300 daimyo and 260,000 families of samurai, was for centuries the governing class, ranking higher than any other class in the country and receiving the highest esteem from the whole nation. The education of the samurai was very thorough, beginning from early childhood and including not only the arts of war, but also a very rigid system of intellectual, moral, and religious teaching. The samurai deserved the high honor with which he was regarded by the people, because he was educated and trained to be a gentleman of high intellectual and artistic accomplishments, of high moral courage, and with a special code of honor which required him to help the poor and defend the weak, to brave death and shun dishonor, to be loyal to his lord and fight the cause of justice. And the prestige of his class was so great that the lower classes naturally imitated the ways and manners of the samurai. For, as Confucius wisely said, the masses follow the upper classes just as the grass bows to the wind. This militant fashion and spirit of the Feudal Age made it very easy for the Japanese *bushi* (knight) to transform himself overnight into the modern soldier when he is equipped with new weapons and taught the new arts of war. The conscription law was issued in 1873, and the Japanese accepted it without a murmur. The military caste dictates and the whole nation obeys. The fact that the Japanese army is to this day still dominated by the former adherents of the fief of Choshu, and the navy by those of Satsuma, shows how tremendous the influence of the feudal military caste has been in the reorganization of this particular phase of national life after the models of the West.

Precisely because the introduction of this military phase of Western civilization was invariably motivated by the fear of imminent danger and the recognition of the necessity of national self-preservation, the success or failure of this phase would very often determine the ease or difficulty with which the other phases of Westernization could be effected. For success in this phase means national security from external invasion, which will greatly strengthen public confidence in the reforms and in their leaders, and thereby make orderly controlled modernization possible. Japan's great victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 vindicated the leaders of the early Meiji reforms and silenced all further opposition to modernization. But, it must be remembered, it was the same War that brought about the dis-

grace and banishment of Li Hung-chang, the leader of Chinese military reorganization, who was never recalled until the peace negotiations after the Boxer War of 1900,—a war which was the embodiment of anti-foreign and anti-modern reaction running wild after the early military and naval reforms had failed to insure national security against foreign aggression.

Lastly, we come to the third group of facts for our comparison—the easy success of Japan in establishing a stable government as the centre of control in her work of modernization, and the lamentable failure of China in the same direction.

Much of Japan's political success, as I have already pointed out, has been due to the existence of a powerful ruling class. But there were two peculiar circumstances in the historical development of Japan which laid the foundations for an easy success in this political reformation. For almost 1200 years, the Imperial Dynasty had been deprived of actual powers of government, first by the 500 years of regency of the powerful House of Fujiwara, and later by the 700 years of military dictatorship under the Shoguns. For all these centuries, the emperors lived in complete oblivion and retirement, retaining the Imperial title only by the grace of the real rulers, and subsisting on the meagre income from the Imperial allowance which was sometimes so meagre that some emperors were recorded to have had to carry on small trades in order to make a tolerable living.

Meanwhile there came from China a new factor to give moral support to this Imperial Dynasty *in absentia*. The moral philosophy of Chu Hsi (died 1200) was introduced into Japan and soon made itself felt in its political implications. The special emphasis on the virtue of loyalty and the ideal of a unitary empire under the "Son of Heaven" as the ultimate source of political power tended to awaken in the Japanese scholars and samurai a new consciousness of the pitiful position of the Imperial Dynasty, and to attribute to it all the spiritual authority and sanctity unsoiled by actual deeds of misrule, of which the Emperors, in their state of oblivion, were incapable. The Tokugawa Shogunate was digging its own grave by its patronage and promotion of the teaching of Chu Hsi.

So, when the time came for political reorganization, all thought naturally turned to the long over-shadowed Dynasty which had grown into a real source of national devotion and worship. What was most fortunate for transitional Japan, is the fact that the Imperial Dynasty, which had for 1200 years "done no wrong" was best suited to be made into a constitutional monarchy after the European pattern. Thus the ruling class in Japan was able in the 1960s of the last century to abolish the shogunate and the feudal system by rallying its support to the Imperial Dynasty; and 20 years later (1889) to establish it as a constitutional monarchy. Tracing its divine descent from time immemorial, sanctified by a long tradition, and reinforced by the artificial means of education and the Shinto religion, the Imperial Dynasty has been and probably will be able to maintain itself as one of the most firmly embedded monarchies of the world.

No such good fortune, however, ever graced the political development of China. The ruling dynasty there was of an alien race which had come into China in the seventeenth century, and which, by the nineteenth century, was already greatly weakened by long periods of luxury and intoxication of unlimited power. The Imperial

Household no longer produced such great monarchs as K'ang Hsi, Yung Cheng and Ch'ien Lung; and the occupants of the throne were largely ignorant weaklings, often short-lived and incapable of having heirs. The Manchu military garrisons, intended to keep down the Chinese in subjection, were corrupt and degenerate and often no longer capable of bearing arms. The imperial nobility was as ignorant and corrupt as the Imperial Court itself.

All these weaknesses were suddenly exposed to the nation in the middle of the last century, when the Tai-ping Rebellion (1850–65) arose from the Southwest and devastated a third of the Empire in the brief space of a few years. This Rebellion, led by a few peasant converts to some form of Protestant Christianity, was a curious mixture of a peasant revolt, an anti-Manchu revolution, and a religious Crusade of most terrible Christian iconoclasm. A primitive rebellion it was, with primitive weapons, primitive ideas and organization. Yet it was enough to break down all resistance put up by the government officials and troops. The Imperial Government was incapable of coping with the Rebellion which soon captured Nanking and made it the capital of the "Heavenly Kingdom of Everlasting Peace." The Manchu Dynasty seemed to be on the eve of a complete collapse.

Then a group of Chinese scholars came to the rescue of the tottering dynasty and organized a kind of volunteer army which ultimately suppressed the Tai-ping Rebellion and allowed the Manchu Dynasty to continue in its moribund state for another half a century. This they did, not out of any great love for the Manchus, but because they had been greatly alarmed by the acts of wanton devastation and especially the savage iconoclastic destruction of the fanatic rebels, in burning down every Buddhist, Taoist or Confucian temple in their way, reducing all ancestral temples to ashes, and threatening to destroy all roots of the old civilization. These Chinese scholar-officials were carrying on what they believed to be a war in defence of the traditional civilization against the devastation by rebels seemingly poisoned by outlandish missionaries.

The suppression of the Rebellion, however, did not much help the cause of the Manchu Dynasty. It only brought into national prominence a group of Chinese statesmen to whom the nation now looked for leadership. But the ignorant Court and nobility were jealous of their popularity and influence. Although these Chinese leaders were given titles of Prime Ministers, they were not asked to stay in Peking and participate in the work of the Central Government. They were usually made viceroys of the provinces. But their great prestige soon made the provinces more important than the Imperial Court. The tendency of political disintegration had begun with the Rebellion and was thus shaping itself in the rising political preponderance of the provincial governments over the central.

This political disintegration continued to increase in irresistible rapidity until, in 1900, when the Imperial Court and Government were patronizing the anti-foreign and anti-Christian massacres by the ignorant Boxers, four great viceroys of the provinces, including Li Hung-chang and Yuan Shih-k'ai, were able openly to defy the edicts of the throne and declare what amounted to the "independence" of their provinces. The Imperial Dynasty had completely forfeited the sympathy of Chinese nation by a desperate effort to keep out all influences of enlightenment and reform,

by the defeat of the reform movement of 1898, and, above all, by the shameful madness of the Boxer War of 1900 which humiliated the nation to the ranks of an uncivilized race, and cost the people an indemnity of 400,000,000 taels of silver. The dynasty, which had barely escaped downfall in the hands of the Tai-pings and which the Chinese leaders had more than once tried to revive and rejuvenate, was beyond hope of resurrection, and wilfully headed for self-destruction. When 10 years later the Revolution came, the rotten edifice crumpled to dust without the slightest semblance of resistance.

But, from the rise of the Tai-ping Rebellion in 1850 to the founding of the Republic in 1912, fully 60 years were wasted in futile attempts at breathing life into a dying dynasty, at patching up irreconcilable prejudices between the Chinese and the Manchu, and at seeking to build up a reform government on the impossible foundations of an ignorant and reactionary Court. And in these 60 years of gradual breakdown of central authority, many new forces and impediments arose, which the leaders of the Revolution and the Republic were to spend many more years in combatting. One of these new obstacles is the wild tendency towards decentralization and provincial autonomy; another is the rise of new military commanders who, in troubled times, have rapidly assumed positions of greater importance than the civilian leaders. When the Republic was established, it soon found itself constantly menaced by the danger of domination by reactionary forces backed by the military, and by the difficulty of re-establishing authority of the central government against the powerful centrifugal forces of provincialism. So 20 more years have been wasted in the long political struggles, which, though extremely chaotic and confusing to the casual observer, are historically intelligible as phases of one great movement,—that of a new China seeking to build up a unified modern state in the face of all strong forces of reaction and disintegration.

Thus, while Japan succeeded in establishing her new political framework 70 years ago, China has sought in vain for 80 years to bring about a political reformation and has as yet failed to achieve a strong and stable government. Such a contrast is as significant as it is striking. It does not merely mean that China dissipated almost a century's energy and intelligence in unsuccessful political reforms when she ought to have spent it on more important and fruitful activities. It also means that, under such conditions, a steady and orderly progress in the work of cultural readjustment, such as has taken place in Japan, is not to be expected in China. China's cultural readjustment was doomed to be slow, spasmodic, discontinuous, and wasteful. For orderly and continuous reformation must of necessity rely upon some stable political order as a nucleus, as a centre of gravity, round which all separate and individual efforts may gravitate, accumulate, and be perpetuated into a continuous whole. Progress in any work means the continuous accumulation of present effort and improvement over past achievements. Such progress is impossible where there is no political stability to guarantee continuity, without which there can be no planning for the future, and any individual achievement may be undone or destroyed by great political upheavals.

These three groups of sharply contrasting facts, which I have presented in some detail, are not intended to rob Japan of her glory of a rapid modernization, or to

justify China's many failures in her cultural readjustment. Nor are they intended merely to explain why Japan's modernization has been more rapid, more orderly, and less wasteful than that of China. My main purpose in drawing these contrasts has been to drive home a fact which has not been given sufficient attention by scholars treating problems of cultural conflict and control. I wish to point out that, when cultural conflicts take place in such vastly different historical backgrounds as we find in Japan and China, there necessarily arise equally divergent types of cultural readjustment; and that these types vary with nations just as responses to cultural contacts vary with individuals of different heredity and environment. Indeed, there are so many divergent types of cultural adjustment that they really baffle enumeration. The cultural transformation in this country is radically different from that of Germany during the nineteenth century. The revolutionary experiments in Soviet Russia represent another type of cultural readjustment. What is happening in India, again, presents another distinct type. And the examples may be indefinitely multiplied. What is important is that each type can only be understood in the light of its own historical cultural background, and must not be judged by any single criterion.

What has happened in Japan during these 70 years of modernization, only represents one peculiar type, which we may call the type of Centralized Control. Such orderly and efficient progress in a gigantic task of nation-wide reformation is only possible under the exceptional circumstances as have been described above. Its advantages are most apparent, but it is not without very important disadvantages. The Japanese leaders undertook this rapid transformation at so early a time that even the most far-sighted of them could only see and understand certain superficial phases of the Western civilization. Many other phases have escaped their attention. And, in their anxiety to preserve their national heritage and to strengthen the hold of the state and the dynasty over the people, they have carefully protected a great many elements of the traditional Japan from the dangerous penetration of the new civilization. One of the most evident examples is the state patronage and protection of the Shinto religion. The peculiar extra-constitutional powers of the military caste in the government is another example of compromise. The position of women may also be cited. In short, the rapid cultural transformation in Japan has been achieved with too great a speed and at too early a date to allow sufficient time for the new ideas and influences to penetrate into the native institutions and attain a more thorough cultural readjustment. The whole affair has assumed the form of engrafting an alien culture on the stock of traditional Japan. Much of the traditional culture is artificially protected by a strong shell of militant and nationalistic sentiment. Much that is preserved, is of great beauty and permanent value; but not a little of it is primitive and pregnant with grave dangers of volcanic eruption.

On the other hand, we find in China a different type of cultural response which may be called the type of Diffused Penetration, or Diffused Assimilation. In the absence of a powerful ruling class, no centralized leadership in cultural control was possible. Yet, in all these years of cultural contact, there has been undeniably a slow penetration of the influences of the Western civilization into almost every phase of Chinese life and institutions, and in some cases a conscious cultural transformation.

Whereas cultural control in Japan has been in the hands of the ruling class, the cultural changes in China have always begun from the people, sometimes from no-one-knows-where. Opium is an ancient example; bobbed hair is one of most recent origin. Even in those cases of conscious reform, the leadership has always come from private individuals who began as small minority advocates and gradually won over larger followings. Such changes are necessarily slow; but sometimes they can be very rapid. It took less than a year for bobbed hair to become a fashion in all the cities; and only a few years for the new punctuation marks in writing and printing to be generally accepted. Even the use of the spoken language (*pei hua*) in writing both prose and poetry in place of the classical literary language, became a fashion among all young students in the course of only 3 or 4 years.

The disadvantages of such diffused processes of cultural penetration are numerous: they are slow, desultory, sometimes blind and indiscriminate, and often wasteful because much undermining and erosion was necessary before any change could be made. And the most apparent disadvantage, of course, is that, without centralized control, no big undertakings, such as political reform, army reorganization and industrialization on any large scale, can be easily achieved. But there are also undeniable advantages. They are voluntary; that is, a new idea or usage must first convince the people of its distinct superiority in utility or convenience before it can acquire general acceptance. They are evolutionary and gradual; the changes often come about by almost imperceptible replacement or modification of the old by the new. The best example is the change in men's shoes. The Chinese shoes of older days were made without following the natural shapes of the feet; the house wife found it more convenient to make the same shoes for both right and left feet, and no husband dared to complain that these interchangeable shoes pinched and deformed his feet. But, in the last 20 years, under the influence of the Western leathern shoes, Chinese shoes have undergone a fundamental change which has been adopted, no one knows how, throughout the country, and we are happy to report that the feet of the present and future generations may be saved from the pain and deformity suffered by my generation in our boyhood days.

In this way, practically all of our ideas and beliefs and institutions have been freely allowed to come under the slow contact, contagion and influence of the Western civilization, and undergo gradual modifications or even fairly rapid and radical changes. It is a kind of cultural transformation through "long exposure." If anything is retained of the old, or any of the old things is thrown overboard, both the conservation and the change have been voluntary and probably practical and reasonable. We have not concealed anything, nor have we dogmatically withheld anything from this contact and change. In this way, China has also succeeded in bringing about a cultural transformation, which, though painfully slow and piecemeal and lacking co-ordination and coherency, may yet culminate in solving some of our pressing and basic problems of life and culture, and achieve a new civilization not incompatible with the spirit of the new world.

Chapter 12
Social Changes in China

A prophet of the last century, Wang Tao said:

> The ways of life cannot be immediately unified: they must first be brought together by the tools or implements of human invention. The steamship and the railway are the carriages of the ways of life.
>
> Therefore, these great inventions, which the Western powers are using for their encroachment upon China, are the very things which the sages of a future age will utilize as the means for the unification of the ways of life of all the nations of the earth.

When this prophet made these remarks he probably had in mind the possibility of Chinese ways of life being carried to the West to influence or even replace those of the West. He could hardly have dreamed that half a century later all the social and political institutions of his own country would be undermined and replaced by new forms, new ways which the steamship, the railways and the printed book brought to the interior provinces. He was right in foretelling that the new tools of the West would unify the way of life in the world. All the social changes in China can be traced back to the time when the new tools or vehicles of commerce brought the Chinese people into contact with the strange ways and novelties of the West. The first things to be accepted were material goods which seemed more capable of satisfying duly needs than native products and throughout the 19th century various manufactured goods gradually came in and became, first of all, the luxuries of the elite, then the necessities of the cities and finally, articles of everyday use by the people. Slowly and imperceptibly imported goods found their way to the villages and farms replacing their rivals of native manufacture. Matches took the place of the old tinder box and flint. Cigarettes replaced the old fashioned water pipe or long bamboo pipe. Lancashire piece goods appeared instead of homespun while paper of Western manufacture is completing its conquest in the country of its invention.

Chapter Note: The People's Tribune. Apr. 1, 1934. Vol. 6. No. 7. pp. 385–392.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_12, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

The story is true of nearly every article of modern invention. The result is that China has practically become a consumer nation of the manufactured goods of the West and old handicrafts are driven out of existence and, instead, factories are rising in the cities while sales agents penetrate the country and peasants are flocking to the cities and trade centres to find employment.

New ways of transportation and communication are assisting the spread of goods and the migration of peoples and the transmission of new ideas and new manners. With them have come new techniques and processes of financial and commercial transactions with extraordinary rapidity.

Many of the changes have taken place within 40 years and while not all of them have touched the vast hinterland, three great factors have assisted the effects of these changes to spread far and wide—the rapid migration of people to cities, the new schools, and the political revolution. The city is the centre of radiation of all forces of change and progress. Trade, industry and facilities of education draw people from distant regions. Some of them stay on in the city, others return to the villages. In either event the influence cannot be over-estimated. No peasant can, for instance, effectively escape from the influence of the city as the farmer in Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* who was apparently unaffected by 1 year's stay in a southern city. To the men who leave their families behind them and to those who migrate with the wives and children, the changes are great. It means the breaking up of old homes, the removal from family and clans, the change of working and living habits, contacts with new social organisations, the entrance of women and children into factories, the reliance of the individual upon himself for good or evil, new temptations and new wants.

The changes brought about by the new education are more revolutionary than the moderate curriculum would seem to warrant; but the new education is revolutionary when compared with the content and extent of the old village school. The old education was purely classical and literary and was intended only for those with political aspirations. The others, if they went to school at all, were content with learning a few hundred characters and only the exceptionally clever were encouraged to go beyond that. But the new education is meant for everyone and it has created a new and more interesting world which is far more intelligible than the moralisings of the sages. New ideas, ideals and ambitions are developed in the children and their parents and if it does not give the children new capabilities it does create dissatisfaction with their environment. They learn enough to know that footbinding is bad, that arranged marriages and superstitions are bad and these tend to make trouble and set parents at variance with their children. As the children get older their troubles increase with the complexity of thought-currents which arise out of the fads of the city while the Press bring new troubles to the schools and the homes. Each political crisis, especially if it involves foreign aggression, creates reverberations in the remotest villages.

Finally the political revolution of 1911 to the present time has done more to effect tremendous social changes than even the economic and industrial changes or the new schools. However unsuccessful the revolution may appear to the outside critic, its meaning to the common people is that "even the Emperor must go."

It upset one of the five elementary human relationships: Heaven, Earth, Monarch, parent and teacher. What relationship of greater permanence could there have been than that of the Emperor which had stood the test of thousands of years! And with the downfall of the Imperial dynasty there also accrued the downfall of numerous institutions which for centuries had been its appanages. Parasitic nobility born to power, Manchu garrisons in various parts of the country, thousands of useless offices which reformers failed to abolish, the public sale of offices, the open corruption of petty clerks who controlled departments and magistrates offices and who, because of their technical ability and experience, were more powerful than the magistrates. All this had immense effects on the lives of the people. It entailed a dislocation of old social classes and brought about new professions and, of course, revolutions always bring into power groups of people, energetic and unscrupulous, who are capable of fishing in troubled waters. Revolutions always mean the breakdown of old authority and in a country where there was no ruling class this sudden collapse was a serious matter. It brought about long periods of anarchy and social disorder. There was nobody to lead and everyone was lost in a sea of uncertainty. New fads and fancies such as the single tax, woman suffrage, free love, destruction of temples and idols, anarchism, socialism, federalism, party government. Some of these die out in speeches and magazine articles; others like the destruction of temples and idols penetrated into the provinces.

The political revolution made possible many of the intellectual and social changes which would have been impossible in the old days. The tragic failure of the 1898 reforms showed that important changes could not take place without the overthrow of the authority of the dynasty, as intellectual and literary movements would not have been permitted to succeed under the Manchu dynasty. A memorial from an Imperial censor would have been enough to cause the imprisonment of the leaders and nip their programmes in the bud. Most of the social changes of recent years have been facilitated and accelerated by the political movements since 1911.

The most important effect of the revolution lies in the fact that it swept away the gentry in most localities. This to such an extent that in Hunan where the gentry had succeeded in opposing many reforms in the latter part of the 19th century, in 1911 the reactionary leaders were drawn away… This in a province whose gentry and conservatives mobbed and actually stoned a prominent citizen for taking a foreign steamboat in his hurry to attend a family funeral at Changsha! This place became a hot-bed of radical revolutionary thought and a centre of communist activity a few years later. Radical changes are made possible by the removal of forces which were once the bulwarks of the institutions and usages of old society.

One of the most conspicuous changes is the rearrangement of the social classes in China. The old traditions of social divisions gave the scholar first rank, the farmer next, the artisan third and the merchant the lowest place. This was never literally observed as the merchant had the wherewithal to purchase office or rank and money made it possible for the merchant to rise more rapidly to power than the poor scholars who had to climb via the ladder of state examinations. But this did not raise the merchant above the reproach of his class and contempt for the merchant official was expressed succinctly in the phrase which the speaker translated as “smelling of the

odour of copper" and no scholar would give up the prestige of a literary future, no matter how uncertain for the socially contemptible profession of money maker. Similarly the banker was known as the "money devil" and the compradore as the slave of the foreign trader. But the rise of new industries demanding highly educated personnel changed all this. Prominent retired officials now become directors of industrial undertakings while ex-ministers become Chairmen of industrial and manufacturing concerns and the merchant class, which formerly could not purchase social esteem, have become elevated by the raising of their intellectual level.

The same is true of the elevation of the soldier class. The personal military successes of men like Chang Tso-Lin and Tsao Kun did not remove the opprobrium in which the military profession was held but the successes of the Whangpoa cadet school—the first student army—caused thousands of university students and school graduates to flock to the army to be trained as new soldiers for the salvation of the nation.

The rise of new professions has accelerated the changes in the social strata. The engineer, the modern trained doctor, the lawyer, the woman teacher, the nurse, the broker, the seaman, the railway worker, the factory hand and the party worker each are finding an important place in the new social order.

Of these the rise of the new legal profession is the most important for the following reasons. While China had developed her own codes and theories of jurisprudence she had never developed the institution of public pleading by lawyers of the parties to lawsuits: this was largely responsible for many of the injustices and tortures in the old courts. There were, however, the Tsung-ssu, masters of litigation, more generally known as "Rascals of litigation" who operated as managers of lawsuits, writing the papers for the litigants, coaching them in the requirements of the law and acting as go-betweens in the bribing of officials and corrupt magistrates. The law never recognised this underhand institution and tried to suppress it recognising its members as corrupters of men, disturbers of the peace who knew little law but much of its abuses. The advent of the modern lawyer in China does not mean merely the rise of a new profession but the advance of a new age in the administration of law and justice.

Another important feature is the breakdown of the old family. Transportation facilities enable the migration of families while the high cost of living in the cities has curtailed the size of those families, confining them to the immediate members while the consequent long absences from home have weakened the hold of the elders over the younger generation. Wage earners now no longer support non-earning members. Daughters-in-law no longer wish to live with their mothers and sisters-in-law. Marriage rites and funeral ceremonies are simplified. Ancestor worship is largely discontinued. New and loose relations between the sexes which would be impossible in circumscribed village life pass unnoticed in the busy life of the cities. Students find it difficult to return to the narrower spheres of villages to live and work. They have succumbed to new intellectual influences and are allured by new social contacts which have made them discontented with the old ways of life. They break their old betrothals, even their marriages, and thus carry out what are known as *Chia-ting keh-min* "home revolution" often at the cost of being disowned by their

parents or being deprived of financial support from their homes. Some of them have openly attacked the old ideas of filial duty and these criticisms have received the approval of many of their contemporaries.

All these tendencies worried the conservatives and they tried to make scapegoats of the leaders of intellectual movements but these attacks only gave the movements a wider publicity and a more intense influence. The age honoured idea of filial piety, which had degenerated into a demand for support and unconditional obedience, no longer appealed to the younger generation and it has consequently definitely passed away as a moral force in the new and disintegrating society.

The new leaders also openly attacked the double standard of morality which rationalised the system of concubinage but which used all forms of social sanctions to induce widows and unmarried girls not to marry after the death of their husbands or betrothed. The conservatives could not defend these criticisms and after resort to force and persecution, which failed, they resigned themselves in despair.

The discussion of sex morality leads to a consideration of the changed status of women in China which is another important phase of the revolution. Their position was never so low as many superficial observers would have one believe. On the contrary, the woman has always been the despot of the family. The authority of the mother or mother-in-law is well known: even the wife is the terror of the husband and there is no other country in the world which can compete with China for the distinction of being the nation of hen-pecked husbands. Certainly no other country has produced more stories and jokes about hen-pecked husbands. Woman in China built up her strong position not on love, beauty or intelligence but solely because the Chinese wife could not be dislodged from her position. She could not be divorced.

There was no law forbidding divorce. The classics laid down seven conditions under which divorce could be sought: Jealousy, failure to bear sons, talking too much, etc., which would be sufficient reason for divorce but the same classics also gave three conditions which would preclude the possibility of a man seeking divorce. If the wife had shared 3 years' mourning for one of her husband's parents; if after marriage he had accumulated wealth; or, if she had no home to which she could be sent back. This last was the most powerful protection for the wife. The alternative for a divorcee was death or a nunnery, each of which meant social disgrace. She would be unable to return to her parents if they were alive as they would be ashamed of her. She would be unable to live with her inlaws and she was never possessed of property of her own. Her only solution in facing the disapproval of merciless society, attendant on divorce, was that of suicide. Therefore, there grew up a sentiment against divorce. When China emerged from the mediaeval age there was no more divorce in respectable families as a wife threatened with the severing of her marriage she could only resort to suicide or become a nun both of which would be terrible blows to the self esteem and respectability of any family. So it was that by the Ming dynasty the only justifiable cause for sending away a wife had narrowed down to adultery, short of which no husband could really divorce a wife without inviting the strongest social condemnation.

There was a classical novel written by Pu Sung-Ling, a writer of the 17th century, who had evidently given much thought to the problem of unhappy marriages.

After writing several short stories he developed one into a serial of 70,000 words and then enlarged it to a dream of about a million words under the title of *A Marriage which Will Awaken the World*. It was the story of a truly terrible wife who was one eyed and only had half a nose, was guilty of crimes against her parents and also guilty of three attempts on the life of her spouse, however, she had never committed the unforgivable crime and all his attempts to escape from her were foiled. Even his secretary refused to write out a petition for divorce and pacified his sorrowful master with the pious reflections that such a marriage could only be the result of accumulated retribution of a past existence and adjured him not to seek to break the casual chain of retributive justice save through resignation to fate lest he create further causes for revenge in a future existence through resort to measures of human invention. Another writer of the 19th century left an interesting diary in which he told of all his horrible sufferings at the hands of his wife. He said that "I cannot fight you, neither can I escape from you. But as you are illiterate you cannot read what I write about you and you cannot answer back. So I here set down truthfully, the ninety charges of your unpardonable crimes. This is my only means of revenging myself."

In contrast with these examples of married infelicity the Civil Code which was promulgated on December 3, 1930, provided in Articles 1049, 1050 and 1052 ten points of possible conditions under which divorce may be obtained in Court. It is questionable whether the new social conditions would make it possible for the divorced wife to live without the burden of public censure and to remarry without losing her respectability. In the cities it might be possible as the law provide her with compensation if she is unable to support herself and, under the new code, daughters are entitled to share in the property of their parents in equality with their brothers while the wife's property is protected by law from her husband.

These emancipations remove her from the invulnerable position once enjoyed by the undivorcible wife of the old days. *But in becoming no longer an unremovable terror she also ceases to be a nuisance*. She has won her position by rights of her own. She is no longer to be married away without her consent. She must win her position by her own charms, her education and her personality. With the new rights have also come responsibilities. She must live her life as a useful member of society and in many cases she is thrown out into the world to work unprotected with men. She is facing her perils, making her own successes and failures all alone. What type of womanhood these new rights and responsibilities will make of her time alone will tell.

As one looks back on the changes, viewing them in the light of historical development one is forced to pronounce them the greatest gains which Chinese nation has received from its contact with the life and institutions of the West. The old family life in China rarely possessed the virtues attributed to it. It was theoretically built on the foundation of suppressing individuality for the sake of the well-being of the whole. The real basis was economical. It was cheaper to live together and cook together than for married couples to start life independently. It was always more economical for incompetent members to be supported by parental or ancestral charity or by enterprising or productive brothers. But the disadvantages were very great.

It was false economy to place too great a burden on promising members of the family. The family too often broke the back of a productive young man who while it also imposed on him the moral obligation of finding employment for his good-for-naught relations. The old fashioned family were rarely able to make the distinction between private interest and that of the public. Moreover, the old family system was a hot-bed of frictions, suspicions, intrigues, oppressions and even suicides. The classical family of China in the seventh century which was able to keep nine generations together without separation was so unique as to elicit the visit of the Tang Emperor who enquired how such a feat was possible. The aged patriarch who was unable to speak asked if he might write the answer and on being given permission to do so, handed his Imperial visitor a sheet of paper on which was inscribed 100 times the character "Forbear." When forbearance is necessary it is certain that the peaceful exterior of the family covers the demand for impossible demands of sacrifice, of individuality on the part of every member thereof and the consequent suffering, because it is silent, is beyond the comprehension of those whose family system has long outgrown it. The idealised virtues of filial piety could not exist and where they were consciously cultivated the price paid for them were nothing short of suppression and mental and physical agony.

The new changes are on the whole for the better. They release the individual from the collective responsibility of the family and recognise in him new rights and duties as an independent member of a larger society. The old framework has gone to pieces not because of external attack or criticisms but because it was impossible to hold itself together in the face of the new forces.

Chapter 13
The Indianization of China: A Case Study in Cultural Borrowing

Harvard Tercentenary Publications. This is one of the most important articles by Hu Shih on the influence of Buddhism on Chinese civilization.

I

The long history of Indianization of Chinese institutions, thought, art, and life in general furnishes the most extensive material that can be found for the study of cultural borrowing on the grandest scale. Indeed, nowhere in the world, with the only possible exception of the Christianization of Europe, can one find another source of historical materials equal in extent and in length of time. I venture to say that this attempt to study the Indianization of China as a case of extensive cultural borrowing may be found at least of suggestive value to the study of the parallel, though not quite similar, story of the Christianization of Europe.

Common sense tells us that borrowing means A's taking from B something which B has and which A has not. In the case of cultural borrowing the relationship of "have" and "have-not" is not so simple, but is often relative and graded. There are at least several broad grades.

1. A has C.
   B has not C and wants it.
2. A has D.
   B has D_1.
   And the superiority of D to D_1 can easily and clearly be demonstrated.

Chapter Note: Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing in Institutions, Thought, and Art. Cambridge: Harvard College, 1937. pp. 219–247.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_13, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

3. A has E_1.
   B has E_2.
   But it cannot be easily shown that E_1 is superior to E_2. It may even turn out that E_2 is better.
4. A has F.
   B has G.
   But G is directly opposed to F.
5. A has H, I, J, K, etc.
   B has not these and is not in need of them.

Cultural borrowing readily and voluntarily takes place in the first case. In the second type, borrowing is made usually when the superiority of the imported culture is clearly demonstrated. In the other types, cultural borrowing becomes impossible sometimes because of native indifference, sometimes because of strong oppositions, and sometimes because of mere sentimental attachment to traditional culture.

The mechanical time-clock which the early Jesuits and European traders brought to China 300 years ago soon replaced the clumsy water-clocks of the indigenous civilization. The Jesuits also brought to China the new methods of astronomical calculation and calendar reform. These were at first vehemently resisted by the native astronomers. But, after 40 years of struggle and 15 years of rigid competition in astronomical calculation and prediction, the superiority of European science was so clearly demonstrated that the new calendar worked out by the Jesuit scientists was officially adopted by the government in 1643 and remained in force until very recent years.

But an alien culture rarely comes in single and isolated items. It always involves a vast complex of varied elements, of which some may be strongly opposed to their counterparts in the native civilization, while others are often resisted by indigenous counterparts which the native people consider good enough for their forefathers and therefore good enough for themselves. And, after all, who shall be the judge of which is the "better" in such indefinable matters as human relations, moral values, intellectual standards, or religious ideas and practices? In all these spheres, emotional attachment is usually strong and objective evaluation difficult. Moreover, it is impossible to demonstrate satisfactorily that, of these more or less similar or more or less opposing counterparts, one form is really "better" than the other. The early Jesuits in China, for example, who could demonstrate conclusively that their predictions of eclipses of the sun and the moon were far more exact than those of the native astronomers, found themselves in great difficulty when they tried to prove to the Chinese that ancestor worship was idolatry, that polygamy was wrong, that the Holy Virgin was more powerful than the Goddess of Mercy, that the Christian God was more real and more lovable than the Chinese *tien*, or that the Confucianist doctrine of the goodness of human nature was inferior to the Christian idea of original sin.

There are times, however, when these natural barriers are not sufficient to prevent a people from wholesale and indiscriminate acceptance of an alien culture. Such times occur during periods of fanatic religious fervor, and during periods of fanatic waves of nation-wide zeal for radical reforms. Japan in the last three decades of the nineteenth century was a case of wholesale cultural borrowing during a period of almost fanatic zeal for political reform. China in 1898, and again in 1926, came nearest to this fanatic level.

But great waves of religious fanaticism have been the usual historical occasions of large-scale cultural borrowing. During such periods of powerful mass conversions to a new religion, people easily lose their sense of calm evaluation and embrace everything that may accompany the new faith. Sometimes such conversion requires a long period of slow penetration; sometimes it requires great leaders of magnetic force; but when it becomes a mass movement of vast numbers, the momentum is so great that kings and queens, emperors and empresses, princes and princesses, the noble and the lowly, are swept along with it, and the new faith, together with all its vast paraphernalia, good or bad, useful or useless, desirable or undesirable, digested or indigestible, is accepted in toto with eagerness and enthusiasm.

And when the first enthusiasm and bewilderment are over, when critical judgment returns with the lapse of time and with more intimate knowledge, the new faith, together with all its appendages, has already been well enthroned and entrenched in the country. Then there begins the period of doubt, of criticism, of open revolt, and even of drastic persecution. To be sure, there may have been earlier periods of doubt and opposition. There were Neroes long before Constantines. But persecutions during great waves of religious enthusiasm only render to the persecuted faith the services of free publicity and confer upon it the additional attraction of heroic martyrdom.

With the return of calm judgment and, what is more important, with the natural re-assertion of the inertia and resistance of the native culture, the borrowed culture necessarily undergoes all forms of change, modification, adaptation, domestication, and elimination. In case of minor religions which have a comparatively small following and have not had sufficient time to take root in the new soil, sustained persecution may succeed in completely suppressing them. Such was the case with Zoroastrianism, Nestorian Christianity, and, to a lesser degree, Manichaeanism in China.

But Buddhism could not so easily be uprooted by persecution. For 2,000 years it continued to be the greatest religion in China, continuing to Indianize Chinese life, thought, and institutions. It constituted the only important source of China's cultural borrowing prior to her contact with the European civilization. It continued to flourish in China, and, through China, in Korea and Japan, even long after it had disappeared in its mother country, India. It continued to Indianize China long after it had ceased to be a vital and powerful religion in China. Indeed, as we now begin to understand, Indianization became more powerful and effective throughout those centuries when Chinese thinkers began to rejoice that they had killed Buddhism or at least made it innocuous. Buddhism is dead in China—long live Buddhism!

II

It is my purpose to trace this long process of Indianization through its various stages. Broadly speaking, these stages are:—

1. Mass Borrowing
2. Resistance and Persecution
3. Domestication
4. Appropriation

By mass borrowing I mean not only the simple process of China's taking from India all those things which were either totally absent or weak in the indigenous civilization, but also that mass movement of religious enthusiasm which blindly embraced everything that accompanied the new faith. By resistance and persecution I mean to include those periods of history when the invading culture was openly opposed by Chinese thinkers and persecuted by governmental action. By domestication I mean to include all those tendencies consciously or unconsciously to make the Indian religion, art, thought, and institutions take up more and more Chinese colors, to make them more "at home" in China in order that the Chinese people might feel more at home in them. By appropriation I mean the culminating stage of successful borrowing when the essence, if not the bodily totality, of the borrowed culture was unconsciously "appropriated," recognized by the native population as their own.

In order to appreciate the vast scope of Chinese borrowings from India, it is necessary first to understand the truly striking contrast between the ancient cultures of the two peoples, especially in their religious beliefs and practices. The ancient Chinese people, who built up their civilization in the north temperate zone where the struggle against the forces of nature was severe, had worked out only a very simple and plain religion, consisting of the worship of ancestors, of the natural forces, and of a supreme God or Heaven; the belief in divination; and a vague conception of retribution of good and evil. There was neither Heaven in the sense of a Paradise, nor Hell in the sense of the place of Last Day Judgment. There were practically no mythologies, nor elaborate rituals. It was the religion of a hard-working and plain-thinking people.

But, as the race became more mature and more sophisticated, it began to yearn for something more satisfying or at least more tantalizing than the too simple religion of its ancient fathers. Throughout the third and second centuries B.C., there were numerous ambitious quests for strange innovations in religious belief and practice, grandiose imperial quests for the great unknown mystery which the too pragmatic and rational mentality of indigenous China could not possibly satisfy.

Then there came the great religion of the Buddha, together with all the Mahāyāna trimmings of the pre-Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions of India. Never before had China seen a religion so rich in imagery, so beautiful and captivating in ritualism, and so bold in cosmological and metaphysical speculations. Like a poor beggar suddenly halting before a magnificent storehouse of precious stones of dazzling

brilliancy and splendor, China was overwhelmed, baffled, and overjoyed. She begged and borrowed freely from this munificent giver. The first borrowings were chiefly from the religious life of India, in which China's indebtedness to India can never be fully told. India gave China, for example, not only one Paradise, but tens of paradises, not only one Hell, but many hells, each varying in severity and horror from the other. The old simple idea of retribution of good and evil was replaced by the idea of transmigration of the soul and the iron law of *karma* which runs through all past, present, and future existences.

These and thousands of other items of belief and practice have poured from India by land and by sea into China, and have been accepted and gradually made into parts of the cultural life of China. The ideas of the world as unreal, of life as painful and empty, of sex as unclean, of the family as an impediment to spiritual attainment, of celibacy and mendicancy as necessary to the Buddhist order, of almsgiving as a supreme form of merit, of love extended to all sentient beings, of vegetarianism, of rigid forms of asceticism, of words and spells as having miraculous power—these are only a few drops in that vast flux of Indian religious and cultural invasion.

The general aspects of the story of the spread of Buddhism in China are comparatively well known. Suffice it to say that, according to our present knowledge, Buddhism had probably come to China long before the year 68 A.D. commonly assigned as the date of its introduction; that probably it had come to China, not as religion officially introduced by an emperor, but only as a form of popular worship and belief gradually taking root among the people—probably among the poorest and the most lowly, to whom the Buddhist missionaries, traders, and travelers had brought the good tidings of mercy and delivery from pain. In all probability, it was from the populace that the prince Liu Ying (died 70), younger brother of the emperor, caught the contagion and was converted to Buddhism. It was also from the popular worship that the Emperor Huan-ti (147–167) elevated the Buddha and made him an object of worship in his palace. The apparently rapid progress made by Buddhism in the Yangtse Valley and on the southern coast towards the end of the second century A.D. seems to indicate that it had had a long period of slow but steady permeation among the people. By the third century, when the men of letters began to admire and defend it, Buddhism had already become a powerful religion, not because of governmental patronage, of which there was very little, but because of its powerful following among the people.

It was as a popular religion of the poor and the lowly that Buddhism first came to stay in China. As such, Mahāyāna Buddhism came *in toto*, and was accepted by the Chinese believers almost *in toto*. It was not for the masses to choose and reject. A great religion of powerful popular appeal came and was accepted. That was all.

Indeed, in their religious enthusiasm, the Chinese people soon came to look to India as "the Land of the Buddha," and even as "the Western Heaven" from which nothing but the great truths could come. Everything that came from the "Western Heaven" must have a reason and commanded acceptance. Buddhism, or that whole movement of cultural invasion which went by the name of Buddhism, was bodily taken over by China on the high waves of religious fervor and fanaticism.

III

But the Indianization of a country with an established civilization like China could not long be smooth sailing. Gradually grave doubts began to crop up. Chinese thinkers began to realize that this Indian or Buddhist culture was in many fundamental aspects directly opposed to the best tradition of China. They began to resent the conquest of their ancient civilization by a "barbarian country." Of the truly fundamental differences, a few may be mentioned here.

First, the Buddhist negation of life was contrary to Chinese, especially to Confucianist, ideas. To the Confucianist, the individual life is a sacred inheritance and it is the duty of the individual to make the best of that life—at least not to degrade it or destroy it. One of the most popular texts of Confucianism, the *Book of Filial Piety*, says: "The human body, even every hair and every skin of it, is inherited from the parents, and must not be annihilated or degraded." Ancient Chinese thinkers of the fourth century B.C. taught that life is of the highest value. The Buddhist doctrines that life is an illusion and that to live is pain, led to practices which the Chinese in their moments of calmer judgment could not but regard as revolting and inhuman. Throughout the history of Buddhist China, it was common practice for a monk to burn his thumb, his fingers, or even his whole body, as a form of merit in emulation of the supreme sacrifice of the Bodhisattva Bhaishajyarāja, the King of Medicine, one of the deities of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Each of the two great Buddhist Biographical Series devoted one section to biographies of Chinese monks who had burned themselves to death, or otherwise committed suicide, as supreme sacrifices. This section is under the heading "Those who gave up their lives." It contains detailed stories of hundreds of such suicides. A monk would announce his date of self-destruction and, on that day, would tie his whole body in oiled cloth, light the fagot pyre and his own body with a torch in his own hand, and go on mumbling the sacred titles of the Buddhas until he was completely overpowered by the flames. Very often such human sacrifices were witnessed by thousands of pious Buddhists whose plaintive wailings would accompany the slow burning of the pious monk. China seems to have gone completely mad in one of her strange periods of religious fanaticism.

Secondly, the Buddhist monk and nun must renounce all their family relations and must practice celibacy. This was also contrary to Chinese traditions. The whole Confucianist ethics had been one of relationships, of which the family ties, being the most universal and most intimate, were regarded as the most important. Indeed, Mencius once said that of all acts against filial piety the failure to have children was the worst. Celibacy was directly opposed to this traditional emphasis on posterity. The seriousness of this practice became all the more apparent when the number of monks and nuns grew to millions.

Thirdly, the mendicancy of the whole Buddhist order was condemned by Chinese moral and economic thinkers as "parasitic" and as responsible for the poverty and disorder in the country. All the orthodox economic thought of pre-Buddhist China had taught that labor alone was essential to production and that the merchant class were

to be discouraged because they were parasites who "were fed without cultivating the fields, and were clothed without their women working in sericulture." And now came the vast host of monks and nuns who not only would not work, but often accumulated immense wealth for their monastic orders through the extravagant almsgiving of the lay patrons. The economic consequences became quite alarming in those times when almost every eighth person in the Empire was a monk, a nun, or a dependent of a monastery.

Fourthly, the whole outlook of Buddhism on life was "other-worldly," pointing to an escape from this world and this life. That too was quite opposed to the moral teachings of classical China. The Buddhist practices all forms of mental control and meditation, and accumulates "merit" by all forms of sutra reading and spell reciting—but for what purpose? The only answer was: For the salvation of the practitioner, which, of course, was a petty and selfish motive in the eyes of the Chinese thinker. As a Chinese critic of the twelfth century put it: "What we should attend to is precisely that span of life from birth to death. Buddhism completely ignores this life and devotes itself to speculating about what goes before birth and after death. But the earth, the mountains and rivers, which the Buddhists consider as empty and unreal, nevertheless stand out as concrete realities that cannot be conjured away by magic or philosophy."

Fifthly, the whole Indian imaginative power, which knows neither limitation nor discipline, was indeed too much for the Chinese mind. Indigenous China was always factual and rarely bold in imagination. "Extend your knowledge, but leave out those things about which you are in doubt." "Say you know when you really know, and say you don't know when you really don't know—that is knowledge." Such were the wise instructions of Confucius on knowledge. This emphasis on veracity and certainty was one of the most marked traits of ancient Chinese literature, which is strikingly free from mythological and supernatural elements. Confucius once said: "I have devoted whole days without food and whole nights without sleep, to thinking. But it was of no use. It is better to learn [than to think in abstract]." This self-analysis on the part of one of China's greatest sages is of peculiar significance in showing the suspicion with which Chinese thinkers regarded the unbridled exercise of thought and imagination. It must have been very difficult for Chinese readers to swallow down all that huge amount of sacred literature of sheer fancy and imagination. It was probably this native detestation of the unbridled imagination which led the first Chinese leaders of anti-Buddhist persecution in the fifth century to declare that the entire Buddhist tradition was a myth and a lie.

These and many other fundamental differences between indigenous China and the Indianized China were largely responsible for the numerous religious controversies and for the four major anti-Buddhist persecutions of 446, 574, 845, and 955. It is significant to note that all edicts for the persecution of Buddhism emphasized the fact that Buddhism was an alien religion introduced from a foreign barbarian country, and that it was a national disaster and humiliation for the Middle Kingdom to be thus "barbarized." Han Yü (768–824), probably the intellectual father of the great persecution of 845, coined these concise slogans: "Restore their people to humanity! Burn their books! And convert their buildings to human residences!" The first

slogan literally reads "Man their men!" meaning that all those who embraced this alien religion were not to be considered as "men." Thus in the edict of persecution of 845, after enumerating the temples and monasteries demolished, the millions of acres of monastic land confiscated, and the vast numbers of monks and nuns forced to return to lay life, the Emperor said: "Henceforth all affairs of monks and nuns shall be dealt with by the Bureau of Foreign Affairs." That is to say, all who are converted by a foreign religion are no longer considered as Chinese subjects.

These were expressions of a nationalistic consciousness behind which was the only partially articulate recognition that this great religion introduced from the "Western Heaven" contained many ideas and practices which had undermined the moral, social, and economic traditions of the Chinese nation.

IV

But none of these nation-wide persecutions ever lasted more than a few years and none succeeded in eradicating or even diminishing the tremendous influence of the Indian religion in the country. When a persecuting Emperor died, his successor invariably adopted a more lenient policy, and in the course of the years the once persecuted religion flourished again in all its former splendor and grandeur.

It is a significant historical fact, however, that while no more governmental persecution of Buddhism was undertaken after the tenth century, the religion of Buddhism gradually weakened, withered, dwindled in its power and influence, and finally died a slow but natural death. Why? Where drastic persecution had failed, the more subtle processes of domestication and appropriation were meeting with greater and greater successes. Buddhism in its domesticated form was gradually and unconsciously "appropriated" by the Chinese people.

Domestication is a common phenomenon in all cultural borrowings. A folksong or a folk story introduced from a distant province is soon revised by nobody knows whom, and, while the main theme—the motif—is always retained, most of the details (names, scenery, fashion, dress, footwear, hair-dress, et cetera) are retouched with "local color." And, after a period of successive domestications, it becomes quite difficult to recognize its distant or even alien origin.

Almost every phase or element of Buddhism has undergone some degree of domestication during these 20-odd centuries. Look at the faces of the deities in a Buddhist temple in China today and trace each to its earliest Indian originals, and you will realize how the process of domestication has worked.

The most striking examples are the various stages of transformation of the god Avalokite vara, who was long ago "unsexed" and became the Goddess of Mercy, often represented as a beautiful woman with tiny bound feet. Maitreya has now become the big-bellied, good-natured, heartily laughing Chinese monk that greets you as you enter any Buddhist monastery in China. Indeed, all faces of the Buddhist deities have been Sinicized—through a long but unconscious process of domestication. Even in those cases, as in the case of the 16 or 500 Arhats, where the sculptor

or molder consciously tries to create "foreign" types, the resultant creations are invariably more Chinese than Indian.

Music, painting, architecture, and the other fine arts which came from India together with the Buddhist religion were also subject to processes of domestication. The reciting and sing-songing of Sanskrit texts have become entirely Sinicized; and Indian melodies have been made vehicles of Chinese songs in which their Indian origins are often forgotten. In painting, as in sculpture, the domestication went so far that later Buddhist paintings are essentially Chinese and differ radically from the early Buddhist art and also from the later artistic development in India herself.

The most difficult phase of domestication, naturally, lay in the sphere of the religious, moral, and philosophical teachings of Buddhism. Being in most cases basically opposed to ancient Chinese tradition and contrary to the intellectual habits of the Chinese people, these teachings could not be easily digested. Sufficiently abstruse in themselves, they became unintelligible in the translations, of which, as we know, very few were made by really competent scholars well versed in the languages and in the subject matter.

The most natural step in early attempts to understand this alien religion was to interpret it in terms of concepts which came nearest to the foreign ideas and which were most familiar to the native mind. Buddhism came to China at a time when the philosophical ideas of Lao-Tze and Chuang-Tze were being revived and having a general vogue among the intellectuals who had tired of the Neo-Confucianists of the Han Dynasty. The philosophical naturalism and nihilism of this Taoist school had certain affinities with a number of ideas of philosophical Buddhism, and it soon became a fashion to translate Buddhist terminology into words bodily taken from the sayings of these Taoist thinkers. Such borrowed terms are never exact; *Nirvāna*, for example, was not *wu-wei*, and an *arhat* was not a *shien jen*. But that was the best that could be done in the early stages of intellectual and philosophical borrowings. These Taoistic interpretations furnished the bridge of cultural transmission and made the new ideas of India more easily acceptable to the Chinese intelligentsia. It was the first stage of domestication.

As the work of translation proceeded in later centuries, the Buddhists insisted on the importance of not using existing philosophical terms of the historic schools of ancient Chinese thought. They preferred the method of exact transcription of the original sound, such as *bodhi* (wisdom), *prajñā-pāramitā* (the path of attainment through philosophic understanding), *nirvāna, yoga, dhyāna, samādhi* and so forth. But the Chinese readers continued to "interpret" and understand them in the light of what had been most familiar and intelligible to them. And it was the naturalistic and nihilistic background of ancient Taoistic philosophy that made it possible for the philosophical thought of such Mahāyāna schools as the Madhymaka to be understood by the Chinese intellectuals.

Wherever such a favorable background was lacking, understanding and acceptance became well-nigh impossible, despite great native leadership and imperial patronage. Hsüan Chuang (596–664), the great Chinese pilgrim, went to India at the height of Vijñānavāda thought, and, after spending 15 years studying it, brought back a vast amount of Vijñānavāda literature and devoted the remainder

of his life to translating it into Chinese. This school had developed a most abstruse system of what may be termed introspective psychology which analysed consciousness into over 500 states of mind and their corresponding faculties and objects. Such hairsplitting differentiation simply could not be done in the Chinese language. In spite of the great personal leadership of Hsüan Chuang and some of his immediate disciples, the vast amount of Vijñānavāda literature remained a sealed book and exerted practically no influence on the intellectual life of China. The study of the psychological and logical treatises of this school was revived during the recent decades in Japan and later in China because the introduction of modern European psychology and logic had furnished new materials and a new set of terms for comparison and for interpretation. This is another illustration of the fact that borrowing in the field of speculative thought can only be done under such favorable conditions as to make it possible to interpret the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar.

The failure of the Vijñānavāda system in China also shows the negative phase of cultural domestication. What we cannot digest, we discard. Discarding means the elimination of all those elements which the native culture cannot assimilate or which the native population regard as non-essential. The never-ending importation of new sutras and treatises from Buddhist India throughout many centuries began to trouble the Chinese intellectuals. As early as the fourth century, Chinese Buddhists began to ask the question: What after all is the essence of this great system of the Buddha? Gradually they formulated their answer: The essence of Buddhism is Meditation and Insight. All else can be discarded. Gradually it was recognized that these two phases might be conveniently combined in the one term *yoga or dhyāna*, which means meditation but which also implies and relies on philosophical insight. From 400 on, there was a clear tendency among Chinese Buddhists to grasp the idea and practice of *dhyāna or yoga* as the essence and consummation of Buddhism.

Simultaneously, there arose the movement to give special prominence to the Amitābha or Pure Land Sect. This sect laid special stress on Faith. Faith in the existence of the Pure Land presided over by the Amita Buddha of infinite longevity and infinite enlightenment, and constant reminding oneself of this faith by daily repeating the formula "Nama Amitābha!"—these alone are sufficient to insure final attainment and salvation. This form of Buddhism, because of its extreme simplicity, has had the greatest appeal to all classes, and has survived all other more sophisticated sects.

All these tendencies were towards simplification or filtration. But a more radical voice arose in the fifth century in the person of the learned monk Tao-sheng, who taught the revolutionary idea of "Sudden Enlightenment" as against all forms of "gradual attainment." He had been trained in the nihilistic philosophy of Lao-tze and Chuang-tze and, paraphrasing the latter, he declared: "The word is the symbol for the idea; and when the idea is grasped, the symbol may be discarded." In these words we hear the first declaration of Chinese Zennism revolting against the terrible burden of the hairsplitting verbalism and pedantry of Indian scholasticism.

And "sudden enlightenment" was to be the weapon of this revolt. Grasp the idea and throw away the wordy symbols!

For even *dhyāna* or *yoga* includes a tediously long series of arduous and minute practices of gradual attainment, beginning with the simple form of breath control, passing through all intermediate stages of rigid mental and emotional control, and finally ending in the attainment of perfect tranquillity and ease together with the acquisition of magical powers. Even this was too scholastic for the Chinese mind.

From the seventh century on, there arose the Southern Schools of Chinese Zennism, which was built on the central idea of Sudden Enlightenment and discarded all the scholastic verbalism, the slavish ritualism, and even the minute practices of meditation. "Buddhahood is within you. Worship not the Buddha, for the Buddha means the Enlightened One, and Enlightenment is within you. Abide not by the Law, for the Law simply means Righteousness, and Righteousness is within you. And abide not by the *Sangha* (the brotherhood of monks), for the brotherhood simply means purity in life, and purity is within you." Thus spoke Hui-neng (died 713), the founder of Southern Zennism.

By the eighth and ninth centuries, the Zennists were becoming truly iconoclastic. They frankly said: "There is neither Buddhahood to attain, nor the Truth to obtain." "Wherefore do ye busy yourselves without cease? Go home and take a rest. Try to be an *ordinary man*, who eats, drinks, sleeps, and moves his bowels. What more do you seek?"

And they developed a pedagogic technique of their own, the essence of which consisted of urging the novice to seek his own awakening or enlightenment through his own thinking and living. No other salvation was possible.

The whole Zen movement from 700 to 1100 was a revolt against Buddhist verbalism and scholasticism, but it was also a movement to Sinicize Buddhism by sweeping away all its scholastic verbiage and giving special prominence to the idea of salvation through one's own intellectual liberation and insight.

True, this process of discarding and expurgation left very little of Buddhism in the net outcome. But we must admit as a historical truth that 400 years of Zennist expurgation had really domesticated the Buddhist religion and made it intelligible and attractive to the Chinese mind. By the eleventh century, Zennist Buddhism was more a philosophy than a religion. But that was exactly what it should be. For was not original Buddhism more a philosophy than a religion? Unconsciously and unwittingly the Chinese Buddhists, throughout a long period of a thousand years, had succeeded in shearing Mahāyāna Buddhism of all its extraneous verbiage and in remaking it into a philosophy, a method, and a technique. Unconsciously, they had made their Buddhism nearer to primitive Buddhism than any Hināyāna or Mahāyāna sects had ever been. And incidentally, they had thereby so domesticated Buddhism as to make it easily understood and appreciated by the Chinese intelligentsia.

By the eleventh century, this process of domestication was complete, and it remained for the Chinese intelligentsia to appropriate this domesticated Buddhism as an integral part of Chinese cultural life.

V

No cultural borrowing is permanent until the borrowed culture is "appropriated" by the native people as their own and its alien origin is completely forgotten. In the case of Buddhism, all those elements which have not been so appropriated by the Chinese people remain to this day as the unassimilated elements of a foreign culture. The work of Indianization of Chinese thought and institutions has come about through those phases of Buddhism and Indian culture in general which have been so thoroughly domesticated and assimilated as to be unconsciously regarded by the Chinese people as their own.

Chinese borrowings from the culture of India were made in two main instalments. The first portion of the borrowings came as a result of the period of mass conversion to Buddhism. The religion of Mahāyāna Buddhism which contains numerous elements of the pre-Buddhist Hindu religions, became firmly established as a great popular religion in China. Many of the cultural elements that came with the Buddhist faith, as I have pointed out, were things which the traditional culture of ancient China never possessed. They filled what may be called a cultural (at least religious) vacuum and were eagerly accepted by the believing masses. It was this portion of the borrowed culture that was the first to be appropriated by the Chinese.

The second portion consisted of more subtle elements of the Indian culture—the philosophy of the world and of life, the moral and social standards, the intellectual habits—things to which the believing masses were indifferent, and which had much resistance to encounter from the age-long cultural make-up of the Chinese people. It was these elements which had required much intermediate work of shifting, discarding, distilling, and re-interpreting, before some of them were sufficiently domesticated to be unconsciously appropriated into the Chinese culture.

Historically, the first period of appropriation coincided with the rise of the religion of Taoism, and the second appropriation coincided with the revival of the secular Confucianist philosophy.

Taoism as a popular religion (as distinct from Taoism as a philosophy) rose in the centuries following the gradual spread of Buddhism in China. "Tao" means "a way." There were many "ways" toward the end of the second century A.D. After the third century, one form of Taoism, with its charity organizations, its practices of healing by praying and of confession of sins, and its polytheistic worships, gradually acquired a large following, not only among the people, but also among the upper classes. Beginning as a consolidated form of the earlier "Sinitic" religion of the Chinese people, Taoism received a great impetus from its impact with the imported religious system of Buddhism. There seemed to be a strong desire on the part of the Taoists to supersede and kill this foreign rival by imitating every feature of it. They accepted the heavens and hells from the Indian religion, gave them Chinese names, and assigned to them Chinese gods to preside over them. A Taoist canon was consciously forged after the model of the Buddhist sutras. Buddhist rituals were freely adopted into the Taoist worship. Orders of priests and priestesses were established

after the fashion of the Buddhist orders of monks and nuns. The Taoists had also a form of meditation which was undoubtedly a modification of the Yoga practice of India. The ideas of karma and transmigration of the soul throughout the existences were also appropriated by the Taoists and made the central idea in their conception of retribution of good and evil. The idea of transmigration was only modified by the Taoist belief that the individual could attain personal and physical immortality, and thereby escape transmigration, by contemplation, medical aid, and accumulation of merit.

Since the fifth century, there had been many attempts of the Taoists to oust Buddhism as an alien religion and to establish Taoism as its sole native substitute. Taoist influence was behind practically all the governmental persecutions of Buddhism.

While Taoism was intended to be a rival and substitute for Buddhism, it was too much an imitation—indeed a crude imitation—of that foreign religion to differentiate itself from it and to command real respect and adherence from the intellectual class. Moreover, its whole outlook on life was just as other-worldly as the Buddhist's. The Taoist ideal was also to flee from this life and this world and seek individual salvation. It was as selfish and anti-social as the Buddhist. It was for this reason that, in the Confucianist attacks on the medieval religions, Taoism and Buddhism were always mentioned together as the joint object of attack. By too much appropriation of an ill-digested alien religion, Taoism had alienated the sympathy of the more nationalistic critics in the country.

The revival of the secular Confucianist philosophy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was professedly anti-Buddhistic. Its object was to revive and re-interpret the moral and political philosophy of the school of Confucius and Mencius as a substitute for the individualistic, anti-social, and other-worldly philosophies of the Buddhist and Zennist schools which had prevailed throughout the medieval period. The object was to revive a purely secular Chinese philosophy to take the place of the religious and non-Chinese thought of the previous age.

A statesman of the eleventh century had pointed out that, during the whole Buddhist period of about a thousand years, the best minds of the nation flocked to Buddhist schools of thought and belief merely because the Confucianist teachings were too simple and insipid to attract them. The problem in the revival of Confucianist thought, therefore, was how to re-interpret the Confucianist classics so as to make them sufficiently interesting and attractive to the best minds of the nation.

As if by a miracle, the Confucianist philosophers of the eleventh century suddenly discovered that the old classical writings of Confucius and his school could be made as interesting and attractive as the Buddhist and Zennist teachings. They discovered, to their great delight, that all the philosophical problems of the universe, of life, of the mind, of knowledge, and of religious reverence, which had engaged the speculative philosophers of Buddhism for centuries, were to be found in the ancient classical writings and only required a little re-interpretation to bring forth the hidden meanings of those long-neglected works of the ancient sages. So they set themselves to work at this re-interpretation.

These philosophers succeeded in working out a "rational philosophy of Neo-Confucianism" which had a cosmology, a theory or theories of the nature and method of knowledge, and a moral and political philosophy. This new secular philosophy also laid great stress on the perfection of the individual which was to be achieved through extension of knowledge, purification of the will, and rectification of the mind. The extension of knowledge was to be achieved by going to the things and investigating the reasons thereof. And the rectification of the mind and purification of the will depended upon the cultivation of the attitude of reverence.

But, these Confucianists proudly pointed out, the perfection of the individual was not the end in itself, as it was with the medieval religions. The perfection of the individual was only a step leading to the social ends of successfully ordering the affairs of the family, the state, and the world. All intellectual and moral training leads to the rectification of the individual life from which shall radiate all its social and political activities. It was this social end which differentiated the secular Confucianism from the other-worldly religious system of old.

And all this new philosophy was found in the old neglected writings of Classical Confucianism. The new interpretation seemed so natural, so reasonable, and so satisfactory, that it was really inconceivable how such precious teachings could have been allowed to lie unnoticed for all those centuries.

The historical fact was that all this re-interpretation had been the result of 1,000 years of Buddhistic philosophizing and training. Especially the 400 years of Zennist Buddhism had given the Chinese philosopher a new insight, a new set of intellectual habits, and a new source of reference material. It was as if the naked eye had been aided by a new eyeglass which enabled him to see things which he had been unable to see before. And the eyeglass was, unfortunately, colored. He now saw things through this eyeglass colored by centuries of Buddhist and Zennist training. He now re-interpreted all he saw in that new light. He was unconsciously appropriating what he had honestly disowned and revolted against.

The Rationalist philosophers made a great success of their Confucianist revival and of their re-interpretation of the Confucianist philosophy, which had now become sufficiently interesting to attract the best minds of the nation, who from that time on no longer flocked to the doors of the Zennist monasteries. And when the first-rate minds of the nation ceased to be recruited into Buddhism, that great Indian religion gradually faded into nonentity and died almost an unmourned death.

But what was the real nature of this secular substitute for the Indian religion? Was it a real repudiation of the Buddhist religion, as it claimed to be?

In reality, the Confucianist revival since the eleventh century has been only a *secularization* of the Indian religion. By secularizing it, the Chinese philosophers had actually universalized it, so that what had once ruled the life of the members of the Buddhist order was now extending its control over the whole non-Buddhist population through the teachings of the philosophers.

Prior to the Rational philosophers, Indianization was more or less confined to those who actually fled the world; but after the secularization of Buddhist ideals by the Rational philosophers, the rules of life of an other-worldly religion were seriously applied to secular life. The age of Rational Philosophy presents to us, not the human

and common-sense atmosphere which one finds in the writings of Confucius and Mencius, but an austere and icy atmosphere of the medieval monastery. Indianization was universalized by being unconsciously appropriated by the philosophers and extended by them to regions never before seriously invaded by the Indian religion.

Let us first examine into this philosophy itself to see how much it differs from the medieval religions. This new philosophy has been formulated as consisting of two main paths: "To increase learning, one must extend one's knowledge to the utmost. For moral cultivation, one must resort to the attitude of reverence." (Cheng Yi, 1033–1107) The first road is intellectualistic; the second, moral and religious. "Reverence" to the ancients simply meant taking things seriously. But to the Rational philosophers it has acquired a religious connotation. To be reverent now means to act in accordance with the Divine Reason. Now, what is this Divine Reason? The answer is: It is the opposite of human desire. And how can one know the Divine Reason? The answer is: The best way is through sitting in quiet meditation.

Even the other path, that of extension of knowledge, was not free from the religious impress of medieval China. To Chu Hsi (1130–1200), extension of knowledge was to be achieved through piecemeal investigation into the reasons of things—which was a strictly intellectualistic and scientific attitude. But, in the absence of the necessary equipment and of the experimental procedure, this was a difficult path, too difficult for the soft-minded majority of the philosophers, who soon gave it up in despair and declared that true knowledge must come from within one's own mind and the approach must be through quiet meditation and introspection.

But it is in the peculiar exaltation of Divine Reason and suppression of human desire that we see the best evidence of the deepening of the influence of the Indian religion through its secularization. When asked whether a widow of a very destitute family might not be justified in remarrying, Cheng Yi, the philosopher, calmly replied: "No. Death by starvation is a very small matter. But violation of chastity is a very important thing." This famous saying was included by Chu Hsi in his "Text Book for Elementary Schools" which became the standard reading in all China for 700 years.

Now, this prohibition of the remarriage of widows had never been the practice of pre-Buddhist China. In the first century A.D., when the sister of the first Emperor of the Eastern Han Dynasty became a widow, the Emperor offered to make a new match for her and asked her to choose her ideal husband from among his ministers. She expressed her preference for Minister Sung Hung. The Emperor invited the Minister for a chat and approached the subject by saying: "What do you think of the proverb that 'Wealth changes friends and high position changes wives'?" The Minister answered: "That proverb is not so good as the other one which says, 'A friend of poverty should never be forgotten, and the wife who has shared the coarsest meals with me should never be deserted.'" Upon hearing this, the Emperor shouted across the screen which shielded his widowed sister, "Sister, I am afraid my match-making has failed." What a human tale this was! And how different it was from the austere puritanism of the philosopher of a thousand years afterwards who cold-bloodedly laid down the principle that death by starvation was preferable to the remarriage of a destitute widow!

What had happened during these thousand years to bring about such a tremendous difference in the Chinese outlook on life? Nothing but the gradual deepening and intensifying of the Indianization of Chinese thought, life, and institutions. Buddhism was fading away, but its cultural content had been domesticated and appropriated by the secular thinkers and had penetrated into Chinese life and institutions far beyond the confines of the monasteries and nunneries of Buddhism. It is true that, with the dying of religious fanaticism, the perfunctory Buddhist monks no longer burned themselves on altars as sacrifices to Buddha. But China was erecting everywhere stone monuments to encourage young widows never to marry again, and even to encourage young girls to refuse to marry after the death of their fiancés before marriage. And strangely enough, the age of Rational Philosophy coincided with the rapid development and spread of that most inhuman institution of foot-binding which caused untold suffering to the whole of Chinese womanhood for a thousand years—an institution which the poets sang in enthusiastic praise and against which the philosophers never raised a voice in protest!

We can only measure the degree of Indianization by comparing this age of moral austerity and self-righteousness with the simple and natural humaneness of pre-Buddhist China. Truly, Indianization had attained its consummation in the hands of the Rational Philosophers, who set out to eradicate the Indian religion by the revival of ancient Chinese thought but unwittingly appropriated the spirit and essence of the very culture they had intended to uproot. In their blind emphasis on the Divine Reason as the opposite of human desire, in their suppression of sex and the simple joys of life, in their righteous indignation against the remarriage of widows, and in their helpless resort to quiet meditation as a moral and intellectual technique—in these and many other aspects these great philosophers of esoteric rationalism were unconsciously acting as the most effective agents for the final Indianization of China.

VI

In conclusion, I must say a fair word for these Rational philosophers. They were quite honest in their attempt to revive a secular thought and to build up a secular society to take the place of the other-worldly religions of medieval China. They failed because they were powerless against the accumulated dead weight of over a thousand years of Indianization. But they did usher in a new age by reviving an ancient cultural tradition of a purely secular origin. Their historic mission was comparable to the Renaissance in Europe. While they themselves were not successful in their re-interpretation of the pre-Buddhistic heritage, they had at least pointed out a way in the right direction. And some of them, notably Chu Hsi, opened up a really new world by their exaltation of the ideal of going to things and investigating into the reasons thereof. It was a scientific ideal which, in the hands of scholars of a later and more propitious age, actually led to the development of a period of critical and scientific scholarship, at least in the philological, historical, and humanistic studies.

That age of scientific scholarship, too, coincided with what may be termed an age of revolt against the Rational Philosophy of the Sung and Ming dynasties. Better philological technique and maturer experience have enabled the scholars of the last 300 years to achieve a better understanding of our indigenous and pre-Buddhist culture. The best philosophical thought of this period got farther and farther away from the Indianized tradition. With the new aids of modern science and technology, and of the new social and historical sciences, we are confident that we may yet achieve a rapid liberation from the 2,000 years' cultural domination by India.

Chapter 14
A View of Immortality

In this lecture delivered at the regular Sunday morning meeting of the New York Society for Ethical Culture on April 7, 1940, at 2 West 64 Street, New York, Hu discusses how one obtains immortality through the influence of his actions on others.

Dr. Elliott and Friends:

I feel quite at home in a place once presided over by my teacher, Dr. Felix Adler, and now by my friend, Dr. Elliott. I have selected as my topic today "A View of Immortality" which may also be called "Social Immortality." It is essentially a Chinese view, but I am sure you will find in it much that is quite near Dr. Adler's conception of the holiness of human conduct.

The ancient Chinese had a very simple religion. Prior to the introduction of Buddhism about 2,000 years ago, we had no heaven as a place to live after death, no hell as a place in which wicked people received punishment, and no conception of a future life after death. Yet there were in ancient China several views of immortality. One view is that posterity—the physical continuation of the individual and the family throughout the generations—is one form of immortality.

Another conception of immortality was expressed by the statesman Shu-Sun Pao, who in the year 548 B.C. (when Confucius was only 3 years old) said that there were three kinds of immortality: the immortality of virtue or character, of service or achievement, and of wise speech. "These are not forgotten with length of time, and that is what is meant by immortality after death."

From my younger days I have been attracted by this doctrine. I often spoke of it to my foreign friends and called it "The Doctrine of the Immortality of the Three W's—the Immortality of Worth, Work, and Words." The immortality of Worth refers to the lasting influence of great personalities, such as Confucius, Socrates,

Chapter Note: Unpublished Script

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_14, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

Jesus, St. Francis of Assisi—men of great personal magnetism who left their stamp on all those who came near them directly or indirectly. By the immortality of Work is meant the permanent value of achievement of great statesmen, great empire builders, great generals, great leaders of men and great inventors and discoverers. The third immortality, that of Words, includes great literature and great thoughts, words of wisdom expressed either in the great philosophies or in the great poetry and prose of the various nations.

For many years the idea of these Three Immortalities seemed to be quite satisfactory to me. I was not interested in the idea of personal survival after death. As a matter of fact immortality in the sense of personal survival after death somehow has never aroused much interest in the Chinese intellectual class.

But as time went on and as I grew older, I began to find that the doctrine of the Three Immortalities probably was in need of some revision. It is defective in the first place in being too aristocratic, too exclusive. How many people are there in this world whose achievement in character, in work and in literature or philosophical wisdom cannot be forgotten with the passing of time? How few people can be considered immortals in any one of the three classes?

Christopher Columbus, for example, may be immortal, but how about the other members of his crew? How about the men who built his ships or furnished his tools, or the many pioneers who had paved the way for him either by courageous thinking or by successful or unsuccessful explorations of the seas? How much, in short, must one achieve in order to attain immortality?

In the second place, this doctrine fails to furnish any negative check on human conduct. Virtue is immortal, but how about vice? Shall we again resort to the belief in Judgment Day and Hell Fire for our moral sanctions?

Some such way of thinking has led me to rethink the problem and to come to the conclusion that probably we have to universalize and democratize the conception of the Three Immortalities. Probably everything is immortal. Probably everything that we are, everything we do, and everything we think or say, is immortal in the sense that it has its effect, its consequence somewhere in this world. And that effect in turn will have its own consequence somewhere else, and the thing goes on in infinite space and through infinite time.

As I have once said:

> A man is what he eats, and the work of the Dakota farmer, the California fruit grower, and a million other food providers lives in him. A man is what he thinks, and everyone who has influenced him—from Socrates, Plato, and Confucius down to his parish preacher and his nursery governess—lives in him. A man is also what he enjoys, and the work of numberless artists and entertainers, living or long dead, renowned or nameless, sublime or vulgar, lives in him. And so on *ad infinitum*.

I remember going home in the year 1917, after 11 years' absence. My mother was still alive. One day she said to me: "Take this key to our vegetable garden, and see your own bamboo groves." I said, "Mother, I never planted any bamboo." She said, "You take the key and look in the vegetable garden." So I took the key and opened the gate to the vegetable garden, and there I saw large groves of bamboo, growing so far and wide that they were invading all the available space in the

vegetable garden, and my people had to build brick walls deep into the earth to prevent their invasion into the vegetable lots. When the bamboos couldn't grow freely in my garden, they crept underground and came up in some of our neighbors' gardens. So there was not only in my own garden a big bamboo grove, there were thousands of bamboos in all the nearby gardens!

I was very much impressed by this sight. I ran home and said to Mother, "I never planted that." She said, "You did. Eleven years ago you came home from Shanghai for a vacation and one evening you were standing at the street corner by our house, and our neighbor Uncle Chun passed by you, carrying a big load of wood and walking very fast. When he saw you, he called you by name and gave you a little bamboo root, and said, 'Take this and make of it a smoking pipe for yourself.' And before you could reply, he had gone. So you took that little bamboo root home and asked me if you could plant it. You planted that one little bamboo, smaller than my own finger. And it has grown!"

I had forgotten all about it. Yet in 11 years, that one little root I planted had not only grown into a big bamboo garden on our own grounds, but had spread to many other gardens in the neighborhood. That is the way things grow; that is the way we produce consequences even in places where we least expect them. As we say in Chinese, "Sow melons, and you shall get melons. Sow beans, and you shall get beans." Sow wild oats and see how they grow!

Fourteen centuries ago a Chinese scholar, Fan Chen, wrote an essay on "The Destructibility of the Soul" which was considered so sacrilegious that his Emperor ordered 70 great scholars to refute it. Of course, it was refuted. But 500 years later the historian Ssu-ma Kwang recorded a summary of this sacrilegious essay in his great history. And another 900 years passed. Then a little boy of 11 chanced upon this brief summary of 35 words, and these 35 words, after being buried for 1,400 years, suddenly became alive again and are living in him and through him in the lives of thousands of men and women.

In 1912 there came to my Alma Mater, Cornell University, an English lecturer who gave an address on the impossibility of founding a republic in China. His lecture struck me then as quite absurd, but I was amused by his peculiar pronunciation of the vowel *o*, and I sat there imitating it for my own entertainment. His speech has long been forgotten, but somehow his pronunciation of the vowel *o* has stuck by me all these years and is probably now on the tongue of hundreds of my students without anyone's ever being aware that it came through my mischievous mimicking of Mr. J. O. P. Bland. And Mr. Bland never knew it.

Twenty-five centuries ago there died a beggar in a valley of the Himalaya Mountains. While his body was decomposing by the roadside, there came a young prince who saw the horrifying scene and was set to thinking. He thought over the impermanence of life and of everything else, and decided to leave his family and go to the wilderness to think out a way for his own salvation and that of mankind. Years later he emerged from the wilderness as Buddha the Enlightened One and proclaimed to the world the way he had found for its salvation. Thus even the decomposition of the dead body of a beggar has unwittingly contributed its part to the founding of one of the greatest religions of the world.

This line of reasoning led me to what may be called the religion of Social Immortality, because it is essentially based on the idea that the individual self, which is the product of the accumulated effect of the social self, leaves an indelible mark of everything it is and everything it does upon that larger self which may be termed Society, or Humanity, or the Great Being. The individual may die, but he lives on in this Great Self which is immortal. All his virtue and vice, merit and sin, all his action and thought and speech, significant or trivial, right or wrong, for good or for evil—everything lives in the effect it produces on the Great Self. The Great Self lives forever as the everlasting monumental testimony of the triumphs and failures of the numberless individual selves.

This conception of Social Immortality seems more satisfactory than the ancient Chinese doctrine of the Three Immortalities in that it includes the lowly and the insignificant as well as the heroes and sages, vice as well as virtue, crime as well as meritorious service. And it is this recognition of the immortality of evil as well as of good that constitutes the moral sanction of the doctrine. The decay of a dead body may found a religion, but it may also plague a whole continent. The discovery of a microscopic bacillus may benefit millions of people, but a tiny drop of sputum from a consumptive may kill multitudes and generations. A chance remark of a barmaid may lead to the sudden enlightenment of a Zen monk, but a wrong theory of political or social reconstruction may cause centuries of bloodshed.

Truly the evil that men do lives after them! It is the clear recognition of the lasting consequences of individual conduct and thought that constitutes our sense of moral responsibility. The individual self owes a tremendous debt to the greater Social Self, and it is his duty to hold himself responsible to it for everything he does or thinks or is.

This is especially true in social and political thinking which, as I understand it, is thinking or planning for a nation, for a society, for a world, and for generations to come. Twenty-four centuries ago, a young prince asked Confucius whether it was true that one theory might ruin a state or another might build up a nation. The question sounds silly, but as we now know, it contains much truth. Social and political theorizing presents in reality a situation in which a wise theory may benefit mankind while a wrong philosophy may actually lead to centuries of war and devastation.

Humanity is what it is by the wisdom and folly of our fathers, but we shall be judged by what humanity will be when we shall have played our part. Shall we say, "After us, the deluge?" Or shall we say, "After us, the millennium?"

Note: In writing this address, I have made full use of, and quoted freely from, an earlier article of mine which forms a part of a volume of personal credos published under the title "Living Philosophies" by Simon & Schuster, New York.

—Hu Shih

Chapter 15
Historical Foundations for a Democratic China

Also in: Proceedings of the Institute of World Affairs, Problems of the Peace, Vol. 21. Los Angeles, 1944–1945. pp. 54–63. Delivered March 12, 1941.

I

In these days when China is being regarded as a partner and ally fighting on the side of the democracies, it is natural that political scientists and students of comparative government should ask some such questions: Is China a democracy? Has Chinese republicanism or Chinese democracy any historical basis?

There have been different answers to such questions. Some say that there is not an iota of democracy in China. Others want us to believe that the only hope for Chinese democracy is found in the Communist-controlled districts of Northern Shensi, and that a Communist triumph will make China democratic.

…My paper purports to describe a few historical factors which have made China inevitably the first country in Asia to abolish the monarchy once and for all and seriously to work out a democratic form of government; and which, in my opinion, furnish the solid foundation on which a democratic China can be successfully built up. These historical factors have been at work for tens of centuries and have given to the Chinese people the tradition and the preparation for the development of modern democratic institutions.

Of these historical foundations I shall mention only three: first, a thoroughly democratized social structure; secondly, 2,000 years of an objective and competitive

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Chapter Note: Edmund J. James Lectures on Government. Second Series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1941. pp. 1–12.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_15, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

system of examinations for civil service; and thirdly, the historic institution of the government creating its own "opposition" and censorial control.

You will notice I have singled out only the institutional foundations and have not included the theoretical or philosophical basis for a democratic China. I believe that the best way of showing the influence of a philosophical tradition is through the historic institutions which are both the product and the embodiment of those intellectual forces.

But before taking up these historical institutions, I would like to say a word about a few powerful philosophical ideas which have had a great influence in molding the social and political development of the Chinese people. The first of these is the Confucianist conception of human nature as essentially good. In a rhymed primer which was written in the Sung Dynasty, and was still used in all village schools during my childhood, the opening lines read:

> In the beginning
> Man's nature is good.
> Near to one another by nature,
> Men are set apart by practice.
> Without teaching,
> Nature degenerates.

These ideas which go back to Confucius, and particularly to Mencius, have been the basis of Chinese education and have inculcated into the people the sense of human equality. Confucius laid down the philosophy in four words: "*Yu chiao wu lei*" (With education there is no class). This conception of the essential goodness of human nature and of the infinite possibility of education is the most important philosophical idea which has produced an almost classless society in China. Centuries before China came into contact with the democratic ideas of Western countries, Chinese children in all village schools were humming such popular rhymes as the following:

> Prime Ministers and Generals do not belong to any class:
> Youths should exert themselves.

That is a popular paraphrase of the Confucian doctrine that with education there is no class.

The second important democratic doctrine is the scriptural justification of rebellion against tyrannical government. The story is told of Confucius who passed by the foot of Mount Taishan and heard a woman crying plaintively. He asked her what was the cause of her deep sorrow. She said, "My father was carried away by a tiger; recently my husband was killed by a tiger and now my son was devoured by a tiger." "Why don't you run away from this place infested by such ferocious tigers?" And the woman said, "There is no tyrannical government here." Confucius thereupon turned to his disciples and said, "Remember this! Tyrannical government is more oppressive than ferocious tigers!"

Mencius in particular was the most out-spoken advocate of the right of rebellion against tyrannical government. He said, "When a ruler treats his subject like grass and dirt, then the subject should treat him as a bandit and an enemy." And he characterized some of the historical rebellions, not as revolts of subjects against rulers,

but as justified revolutions against despots whose misrule had alienated them from the people. This doctrine of justifiable rebellion against tyranny and misrule was easily and naturally revived with the coming of revolutionary and democratic ideas from the Western world.

The third important political doctrine is that the subordinate has a sacred duty to criticize and oppose the wrong-doing of his superior. A little classic, the *Book of Filial Piety*, has this saying of Confucius: "If an Emperor has seven out-spoken ministers [*chêng ch'ên*: literally, 'ministers who fight or oppose him'], he could not lose his empire in spite of his misdeeds. If a feudal lord has five out-spoken ministers, he could not lose his state in spite of his misdeeds. If a minister has three out-spoken servants, he could not lose his family fortune in spite of his misdeeds. … Therefore, in the face of a wrong or unrighteousness it is the duty of the son to oppose his father and it is the duty of the servant to oppose his sovereign."

This idea of encouraging out-spoken advice and even opposition from one's subordinates has been a most important political tradition which has made possible the development, not only of the institution of the government's own censors, but also of the hundreds of great personalities who made history by fighting fearlessly against the misdeeds of despotic rulers and powerful ministers.

It is from these basic seeds of Chinese political thinking that there have been developed social and political institutions which have played, and will continue to play, an important role in shaping the political development of my people.

II

China was unified for the first time in 221 B.C. The First Empire founded on military conquest of the contending states, did not last more than a dozen years, and was overthrown by a revolution of the people. The Second Empire, the Empire of Han, lasted 400 years (202 B.C.–219 A.D.).

Even before the first unification under the First Empire, the numerous small states which flourished at the time of Confucius were gradually being absorbed and consolidated into seven great powers. The old feudal society was rapidly disappearing in an age of conquest, migration of races, and political concentration. Practically all the seven states of the fourth and third centuries B.C. had highly centralized government and administration. That tendency of centralized political control was made uniform under the First Empire, which divided the whole country into 36 administrative districts or provinces governed by officials appointed by the central government.

During the 400 years of the Han Empire, this tendency of political consolidation was continued and perfected. In their first reaction against the despotic consolidation of power under the First Empire, the founders of the Han Dynasty created new feudal states and gave them to the princes of the blood of the new royal family. But the statesmen of the second century B.C. soon realized the mistake of this political anachronism which had led to armed revolts by some of these powerful princes against the central government. In order to avoid an abrupt departure of policy, the

political wisdom of these statesmen devised a peaceful method for abolishing the new feudalism. This new procedure consisted of abolishing the law of primogeniture and of dividing the hereditary fief equally among the sons of a deceased or banished prince. After a few generations of equal division of feudal estates among the male heirs, all the newly created principalities were reduced to political nonentity and were peacefully subject to the civil administration of the governors and prefects appointed by the central imperial government. Feudalism has never been revived during the last twenty-one centuries.

This tradition of equal division of hereditary property among the sons of a family was adopted by all classes of people and has worked for the equalization of wealth and landed property. Primogeniture seemed to have been swept overboard with the disappearance of ancient feudal society, and this new procedure came to be recognized as just and equitable. Because of this, no great estate could stand three generations of successive equal division among the sons. The result has been the total absence of large holdings of land by wealthy and powerful families for any great length of time. This economic equalization has tended greatly to bring about a social structure in which there are practically no class divisions and not even any enduring differences between the rich and the poor.

The founders of the Han Empire came from the lowly strata of society, including butchers, sellers of dog meat, undertakers, peddlers, and farmers. Many of their women were of poor and lowly origin. This was the first and probably the greatest dynasty and empire founded by the people. That fact alone was an important asset in the democratic tradition of China. The 400 years of political and social development under the Han Empire practically shaped and conditioned the main lines of historical evolution of Chinese national life and institutions throughout the later ages.

In addition to the institution of equal division of hereditary estates, the Han statesmen were responsible for initiating as early as the second century B.C. the system of selecting men for public office from among those persons either recommended by public opinion of the localities for their special achievements, or chosen through a competitive examination on their knowledge of the classical literature of ancient China. Throughout the Empire men of poverty and lowly origin often arose to highest positions of honor and power. One of the greatest generals, who fought the Huns and drove them far beyond the Great Wall and the desert, arose from slavery. And hundreds of cabinet ministers came from families of destitution.

The earlier statesmen of the Empire consciously practiced the policy of laissez-faire and strict economy in order to allow the people to recuperate from the devastations of the terrible wars of the third century and to grow accustomed to the peace and order of a unified Empire. It was a conscious effort to put into practice the political philosophy of *wu-wei* (non-activity) taught by the school of philosophic Taoism. Under this *laissez-faire* policy commerce and industry flourished and the Empire prospered. There grew up a class of wealthy merchants and "capitalists" who lived in comfort and luxury.

The new political leaders after 140 B.C. were largely Confucianist scholars who were trained on books that exalted a static and essentially agricultural society and

who viewed with suspicion and disapproval the rising commercial class, whom they considered as social parasites that toiled not nor spun but lived on the sweat and blood of the toilers. There were several serious attempts to limit the amount of land owned by any single individual and to undertake governmental action for the amelioration of the conditions of the poor. These reform movements culminated in the socialistic policies of Wang Mang, who, in the first years of the Christian era, acquired political power and proclaimed himself Emperor of the New Dynasty which lasted 16 years (8–23 A.D.). Wang Mang nationalized all land, emancipated all slaves, and instituted government regulations and monopolies of salt, wine, coinage, credit, mining and natural resources. He was the first "New Dealer."

Wang Mang's many socialistic reforms were swept away and he was killed in the revolution which overthrew his dynasty and restored the Han regime. But anti-mercantile, agrarian, and equalitarian thought had become a part of orthodox social and political thinking of Chinese intelligentsia and accounts for the low position which the merchant occupies in the social scale. The conventional ranking of the professions (not classes) into the scholar, the farmer, the artisan, and the merchant is a product of this anti-mercantile tradition.

All these factors—the abolishing of primogeniture, the custom of equal division of inherited property among the sons, the recognition of the justice of people arising to power from lowliness, the selection of men for office-holding by means of competitive examination, the conscious curbing of the men of wealth—all these factors continued to influence the social structure of China, making it more and more democratic. There was no aristocracy as a class except that of learning, and learning was always accessible to all who had the intelligence and the will to acquire it. The social structure was so thoroughly democratized and the process of leveling had gone so far that when the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown in the Revolution of 1911–1912, no one could think of a Chinese family sufficiently prominent to be qualified as a possible candidate for the throne left vacant by the downfall of an alien dynasty. Some thought of the family of Confucius; but it happened that at the time the direct lineal descendant of Confucius, and the inheritor of the ducal title reserved to the Kung family, was a little child hardly 1 year old. So he was passed over, and even the so-called "constitutional monarchists" had to agree with the republican revolutionaries that the monarchy must be abolished and that a republic was the only thing feasible.

III

All important schools of Chinese thought of the classical period agreed that government should be in the hands of the wisest and best-informed people. They were unconsciously undermining the feudal society by this advocacy of government by those best qualified to govern. With the passing away of feudalism, and especially with the establishment of a unified empire founded and governed by people who arose from the masses, there was felt a great need for securing men of knowledge and wisdom for the ordering of the state.

The founder of the Han Dynasty, who was an unlettered political genius, once rebuked a scholar in these words: "I conquered the Empire on horseback; what use have I for your classical books?" The scholar retorted: "Sire, it is true you have conquered the Empire on horseback; but can you govern it on horseback?" The early years of the Second Empire witnessed the gradual rise of the scholarly class who tamed the conquerors on horseback and helped them to write the laws and institutes, to work out the details of administration, to remedy the grotesque mistakes of the uncouth rulers, and to pacify and stabilize the Empire.

The task of empire-building was truly tremendous. The Han Empire in its great days was almost as large as the China of today. Without modern means of transportation and communication, the work of administering such a vast empire from a central government at Chang-an, maintaining unity and peace for 400 years, and thereby setting up a permanent framework of a unified national life for 2,000 years, was the greatest achievement of the political genius of the Chinese people.

The civil service system originated in the realization of the need for men who knew the language of the classical literature of ancient China. The Empire was composed of vast areas which spoke different dialects, and the only common medium of empire communication was the classical language, which had been at one time a living dialect of fairly wide currency in eastern and northern China, but had become dead by the time of the Second Empire. The first step was to establish a government university with separate faculties or "doctoral colleges," each specializing in one of the ancient classics. But the revival of learning through university education took time and the Empire needed men for government offices. About the year 120 B.C., the Prime Minister, Kung-Sun Hung, in a memorial to the throne, said that the edicts and the laws which were written in elegant classical style were often not understood even by the petty officers whose duty it was to explain and interpret them to the people. Therefore, he recommended that examinations be held for the selection of men who could read and understand the classical language and literature and that those who had shown the best knowledge should have the first preference in appointments to offices requiring the use of the written language. His recommendation was adopted and marked the beginning of the civil service examination system.

Throughout the 400 years of the Han Empire, however, there was not worked out any systematized procedure for the selection of men for public offices. Broadly speaking, there were three methods in use. In the first place, there were the examinations which had not yet commanded much respect and were apparently limited to clerical and secretarial offices. Secondly, there was the university, which in the second century A.D. was said to have 30,000 students and was becoming a political power much feared by the politicians. The university education naturally gave the youths a fairly reliable chance of civic advancement. Thirdly, from time to time the government would ask the provincial authorities to recommend men of various kinds of attainment. Men were recommended for their "filial piety and purity of character" (*hsiao lien*), for "marked talent" (*mou ts'ai*), for "specially distinguished attainments" (*tso i*), etc. Such recommendations were often, but not regularly, requested by the central government, and those persons thus recommended were usually given offices.

Ts'ao Ts'ao (d. 219 A.D.), one of the greatest statesmen of the age, worked out a system of classifying men into nine grades according to their ability, knowledge, experience, and character. When his son became Emperor in 220 A.D., this system of nine-grade classification was officially adopted for the selection of men for government service. Under this system, the government appointed a special official for each administrative area, who was called "Chung Cheng" (the Impartial Judge) and whose duty it was to list all possible candidates for office and all men of good family, and, on the basis of public opinion and personal knowledge, grade them into nine grades according to their deserts. These gradings, which were to be revised periodically, were to serve as the basis for appointment of these men to offices in the local, provincial, or central government.

This system, known in history as that of "Nine-grade Impartial Judgment," naturally involved much subjective opinion, family influence, and political pressure. It was humanly impossible to find an objective standard for the nine degrees of grading. After being tried out for fully four centuries, it was finally abolished under the Sui Dynasty, which re-unified the country in 589, after a long period of division, and instituted the Government Examination for civil service in 606.

From the beginning of the seventh century to the beginning of the twentieth century, for 1,300 years, the main system of selection of men for office was by open and competitive examination. Roughly speaking, this system has undergone three stages of evolution. The first period, approximately from 600 to 1070, was the age of purely literary and poetic examination. There were other subjects, such as history, law, the Confucian classics and others, in which examinations were regularly held. But somehow the purely literary examinations came to be the only highly prized and universally coveted channel of entrance into public life. The best minds of the country were attracted to this class of examinations. The winners of the highest honors in these poetic and literary examinations became idolized by the whole country and especially by the women; and the successful candidates in these literary examinations usually attained the heights of governmental power more rapidly than those who took the other more prosaic examinations. In the eyes of the nation only these literary and poetic examinations commanded the interest and the admiration of the people, and the other examinations seemed not to count at all.

The reasons for this peculiar pre-eminence of the literary and poetic examinations are not far to seek. While the other examinations required book knowledge and memory work, this class of *ching shih* (advanced scholars) was expected to offer creative poetic composition. The difficult themes assigned and the strict rules prescribed only made the successful winners shine more glamorously. And it is not true that poets are always born and not made. Fashion and training can always make a poet of some sort out of a man of native intelligence. Besides, these original compositions required wide reading, wealth of knowledge, and independence of judgment. For these reasons the *ching shih* came practically to monopolize the civil service for almost four centuries, and great statesmen and empire builders came out of a system which, though fair, seemed completely devoid of practical training.

The second period of the civil service system may be called an age of transition. The purely literary examination had been severely criticized on the ground of its

failure to encourage the youths of the nation to prepare themselves in the practical and useful knowledge of morals and government. In the year 1071, the reformer-statesman Wang An-shih succeeded in persuading his Emperor to adopt and proclaim a new system of examinations, in which the poetic compositions were entirely abolished and the scholars were required to specialize in one of the major classics as well as to master the minor classics. Under the new system the scholars were also asked to write an essay on some historic subject and to answer in detail three questions of current and practical importance. This new system was naturally severely attacked by the sponsors of the old poetic examinations. For 200 years the government wavered between the two policies. The prose classical examination was several times discarded and again re-established. Finally the government compromised by offering a dual system placing the poetic composition and the prose classical exposition as two alternate systems for the candidates to choose.

Then came the third period during which the prose classical examination finally became the only legitimate form of civil service examination. The Mongol conquest of North China, and later of the whole of China, had brought about much interruption and dislocation of Chinese political life, including the abolition of the civil service examination system for many decades. When the civil service examinations were revived in 1314, the classical scholars had their way in triumphantly working out an examination system entirely centering around the Confucian classics. In order to make it more attractive to the creative minds, a special form of prose composition was gradually evolved which, though not rhymed, was highly rhythmic, often running in balanced sentences, and so rich in cadence that it could be often sing-songed aloud. All candidates were also required to write a poem on an assigned theme as a supplement to every examination paper. These new developments seemed to have satisfied both the desire for original poetic expression and the more utilitarian demand for a mastery of the Confucian classics which were supposed to be the foundation of the moral and political life of the Chinese nation. So this new examination system lasted from 1314 to 1905 with comparatively few radical changes in the general scheme.

In a broad sense, therefore, the statesmen of China have seriously attempted to work out and put into practice a system of civil service examination open to all people, irrespective of family, wealth, religion, or race. The subject-matter of the examinations, whether it be original poetic composition or rhythmic prose exposition of the classics, has been severely and probably justly criticized, as useless literary gymnastics. But the main idea behind these examinations is a desire to work out some objective and impartial standard for the selection of men for public offices. The sincerity of that desire was attested throughout history by the development and improvement of the safe-guards against favoritism and fraud in the examinations. One of the safe-guards was the method of sealing the name of the examinee so that no name should appear on the examination paper. Another safe-guard was to have every examination paper copied by the government copyists and to submit to the examiners only the copy and not the original, so that the examiner could not recognize the hand-writing of his own students, friends, or relatives. These techniques were invented about the year 1,000 and have been in use in all the later centuries. Fraud in the examinations was punished by the heaviest penalties.

Indeed, the system was so objective and fair that scholars who repeatedly failed to pass the examinations rarely complained of the injustice of the system itself but often comforted themselves with the proverb, "In the examination hall literary merit does not always count," meaning that luck may be against you. As the subject-matter was always taken from the few classics and in later centuries always from the "Four Books" for the lower examinations, it was possible for the poorest family to give a talented child the necessary education which cost practically nothing in books or in tuition. In the popular theatres, one often sees well-known plays portraying a poor young man or a poor son-in-law of a beggar-chief successfully taking high honors in the examinations. It was a just system which enabled the sons of the poorest and lowliest families to rise through a regular process of competition to the highest positions of honor and power in the Empire.

Throughout the centuries of training under this system, there has grown up a deep-rooted tradition in the minds of the Chinese people that government should be in the hands of those who are best fitted to govern; and that officers and officials of the state are not born of any special class but should be selected through some system of competitive examination open to all who are prepared to take it.

IV

The office of the Imperial Censor, or literally the "Imperial Historian," probably derived its extraordinary censorial authority from the very ancient days when the historian was a religious priest and represented the will of the gods. At the time of Confucius stories were told of historians who defied despotic rulers and powerful prime ministers in insisting upon telling and recording the truth as they saw it. They preferred death to changing their recordings. Confucius himself tried to write a kind of history where every word would imply a moral judgment of approval or disapproval, so that rulers and leaders of states might be encouraged to do good and refrain from evil-doing by their natural regard for the judgment of posterity.

In later ages the historians rarely kept up this rigoristic tradition of truth-telling, but there grew up a new tradition of out-spoken advice and admonition on the part of the Imperial Censors. The duty of out-spoken interrogation and censure of the misdeeds of all government officials from the highest to the lowest was not confined to the Imperial Censors alone or to any particular censorial office. It was in fact a right and a moral duty of all officials of rank to speak freely and frankly to the Imperial Government on all matters concerning the misery and suffering of the people, or astrological signs or warnings pointing to bad government in any particular direction, or policies which should be promoted or abolished. In short, Chinese moral and political tradition required of every government official this sacred duty of serving as the out-spoken adviser of his sovereign.

All political thinking of ancient China taught the importance of out-spoken censure as the only means for the ruler to know his own faults, the disastrous policies of his government, and the grievances of the people. An ancient statesman of the eighth century B.C. is recorded to have said: "To stop the voice of the people is

more dangerous than to dam the flow of a river. The wise manager of the river deepens its basin and facilitates its flow. The wise ruler of men encourages them to speak up freely." Free expression and out-spoken opposition are, therefore, safety-valves through which the complaints, protests, and grievances of the people are expressed and heard. They are also mirrors in which the rulers can see their own shortcomings. It is, therefore, the duty of the ruler to tolerate all forms of out-spoken advice and opposition, however offensive they may be.

Throughout the long history of China, there are numberless cases of statesmen who incurred the displeasure of their rulers by courageously opposing what they considered as ruinous policies of the government. Not a few of these out-spoken advisers were put to death or subjected to bodily torture. But, in general, even the most notorious despots usually had an almost religious regard for the tradition which exalted tolerance of frank censure as one of the highest virtues of the ruler. With the exception of the few dark periods of the Ming Dynasty, most of the dynasties treated the out-spoken censors with tolerance and leniency. Some of the great rulers, such as the second Emperor of the Tang Dynasty, were famous for their eagerness to seek frank advice from their ministers. The intimate memorials to the throne by such famous statesmen as Wei Cheng of the seventh century and Lu Chih of the eighth century read like heart-to-heart advice of one faithful friend to another. They cover all kinds of topics from private conduct to military campaigns of great importance. Such works have been an inspiration to statesmen throughout the ages.

Even in those periods when out-spoken censors were punished brutally by the despotic rulers, those martyrs in the cause of free political criticism were usually vindicated, sometimes after a few years and sometimes after one or two generations. In such cases the vindication came in the form of conferring posthumous honors on the martyred censors, some of whom were given seats in the Temple of Confucius. The policies they had sponsored were now adopted and the persons against whom they had fought were now disgraced. As a philosopher of the seventeenth century put it: "There are only two things that are supreme in this world: one is reason, the other, authority. Of the two, reason is the more supreme. For in the history of the struggle of the righteous statesmen against the powerful prime ministers and eunuchs, reason always triumphed over authority in the end." This best expresses the spirit of the Chinese censors: they represented the Chinese historic struggle for liberty.

In a sense, the censorial system may be called the Chinese counterpart for a parliament. Indeed, the censors were called "The Officials Who Speak" (*yen kwan*), which is an etymological reminder of the modern democratic parliaments. The Censorial Office, or Tribunal, was not a law-making organ but undertook almost every other political and semi-judicial function of a modern parliament, including interrogation, impeachment of government officials, passing on the accounts of the governmental departments, and receiving complaints and grievances of the people. Tradition gave it the right "to speak out even on hearsay." There was naturally the danger of malicious libel and political attack without sufficient evidence. But the main idea was to encourage free speech and to initiate investigation in cases where evidence could not be easily obtained without the effort of special investigators.

As I have pointed out, the right and duty to advise the government were not confined to the censors alone. All central and provincial officials above a certain rank had the right and the duty to petition the throne on all matters affecting the policy of the government or the interest of the people. In the light of history, much of the advice offered was ridiculous, and many of the issues bitterly fought were trivial. But this tradition of encouragement to out-spoken opposition has, on the whole, played an important and beneficial part in the molding of Chinese political life. It has not only trained the nation to regard out-spoken and fighting officials as national heroes and protectors of the interests of the people, but it has also taught the people to think that government needs censorial check and control and that out-spoken opposition to the misdeeds of government officials and even of emperors and empresses is a necessary part of a political constitution.

These three historical factors—a democratized and classless social structure, a traditional belief in the selection of office-holders through an objective competitive examination, and a long history of encouragement of out-spoken censorial control of the government—these are the heritages of my people from the political development throughout the long centuries. They are the historical factors which alone can explain the Chinese Revolution, the overthrow of the monarchy, the establishment of a republican form of government, and the constitutional development of the last 30 years and of the years to come.

The best evidence of the great importance of these historical heritages is the fact that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Chinese Revolution and of the Republic, deliberately adopted the power of examination for civil service and the power of censorial control of the government as two of the five divisions of governmental power, the other three being the traditional executive, legislative, and judicial powers. In these three decades of revolutionary wars and foreign invasion, China has not yet worked out a permanent constitution. But it is safe to predict that the future constitution of China will be a workable democratic constitution made possible by these historical factors without which no importation or imitation of foreign political institutions can function and take root.

Chapter 16
The Exchange of Ideas Between the Occident and the Orient: A Case Study in Cultural Diffusion

This is a digest of Hu Shih's paper read at the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the University of Chicago, September 24, 1941.

This paper does not purport to discuss any particular idea or ideas exchanged between the Occident and the Orient during these several centuries of contact. I propose to consider all such exchange of ideas as particular incidents and details in the great drama of cultural diffusion. I propose to treat all exchange of ideas between the East and the West as a case study of cultural diffusion—that is, as historical data illustrative of certain general laws of diffusion, or at least as significant sociological, ethnographical, or historical facts out of which some such general laws of cultural diffusion may be formulated.

For the sake of convenience of discussion, this paper is divided into three main parts, each part dealing with one group of related facts of cultural exchange which seem capable of being explained by what may be termed a general principle or "law" of cultural diffusion. These principles are:

I. The Principle of Relativity or Gradation in Cultural Diffusion.
II. The Principle of Freedom as a Determining Factor in Cultural Transmission.
III. The Principle of the Recipient People as the Ultimate Core of Cultural Transformation.

I

The principle of relativity in cultural diffusion or borrowing explains the vast majority of the facts of diffusion and resistance. Every borrowing is the result of choice based on a felt need or desire for the new cultural form. Because there is always a

Chapter Note: Contemporary China: A Reference Digest. Nov. 3, 1941. Vol. 1. No. 12. pp. 1–4.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_16, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

gradation of need, varying from a strong yen to a strong aversion, for the various elements in an alien culture, cultural borrowing is never truly wholesale, but always graded and relative. Every choice represents a selection from a thousand or a million things open to commerce and borrowing.

This principle of relative, selective, and graded borrowing can be amply illustrated by hundreds of instances drawn from the history of the cultural exchange between the East and the West.

This principle is true of the story of silk, of porcelain and of hundreds of Chinese things such as the camellia, the gardenia, the wistaria, the ginko tree, the soya bean, and the tung oil. In every case a real need was felt for a Chinese product for which no substitute was found. In such a case, neither distance nor prejudice can prevent its introduction and adoption.

Similar selective processes of diffusion can be cited of Occidental objects adopted in the Orient. The European traders and Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought to China many elements of the European civilization. The story of the vicissitudes of these elements of European culture in China best serves to illustrate the selective and graded process of diffusion.

These cultural elements can be grouped in at least four grades. First, there were those things which were lacking in China and the use of which was readily recognized, such as the Indian corn and quinine. There were no native counterparts for these, so they were soon accepted without opposition.

Secondly, there were European mechanical implements which were easily recognized as superior to their native counterparts. Such were the mechanical clock, the various kinds of lens, the harquebus (or arquebus), and the cannon.

Thirdly, the European visitors also brought to China the new scientific knowledge of the Europe of the sixteenth century. China was then in the midst of a great controversy over the reform of the calendar which had become quite inaccurate. So the Jesuit astronomers offered their services to assist the Chinese Government in calendar form. There were then several schools of native astronomers fighting for ascendency. The Government ordered the European and Chinese astronomers to make their own calculations and predictions of solar and lunar eclipses so that their relative accuracy and merit might be tested by their respective results. For 15 years, from 1629 to 1643, a keen and spectacular contest in astronomical exactness went on and was watched by the scholarly world with great interest. All the tests resulted in the absolute superiority of the new astronomy of Europe, and the new calendar as revised by the Jesuit scientists was promulgated by the Chinese Government in 1643 as the official calendar, and has remained in force for 270 years.

But there was a fourth group of cultural elements which the Europeans brought in to China and which it was the primary objective of the Jesuit missionaries to propagate in the Orient, namely, the Christian religion with its dogma, ritual, and moral teaching. In this field, however, the Christian missionaries achieved only small and impermanent success. In such phases of cultural life wherein the emotional attachment to traditional beliefs and practices is strong and wherein the task of the demonstration of the superiority of the new cultural form is difficult—in all such cases, there is usually great opposition and resistance to the invading culture.

These various gradations in the reception of the Western culture in China were also true of the first period of contact of Japan with the European trader and the Jesuit missionary, and equally true of the more extensive and more intimate contacts between the East and the West during the recent decades.

All degrees of success or failure in the diffusion of the various elements of a culture are measured by the gradation in the need felt and in the recognized capability of those cultural objects in satisfying the need. In short, cultural diffusion represents a form of "natural selection" which results in the widest diffusion of the fittest—fittest in the sense of best satisfying a need or want in the recipient people.

II

The principle of relative and graded diffusion, however, can only operate when there is freedom of contact with new ideas and practices and freedom for the people to make the choice in accordance with their need or desire for the new culture. Whenever peoples are free to learn, to know, and to choose, there is the natural phenomenon of selective cultural diffusion.

But wherever a people is denied this freedom of contact and choice, wherever a government or a class or a religious order has the power to decide for the people what to take and what not to take from a foreign civilization, then natural cultural diffusion becomes impossible, or at least exceedingly difficult. Cultural change can be retarded or stopped by authoritarian prohibition, by artificial protection of a whole culture or parts of it from free contact with "dangerous" alien cultural influences.

This is what is meant by the principle of freedom as a determining factor in cultural transmission and transformation. Freedom of thought and expression, of belief and worship, and of contact with the thought-currents and institutions of the wider world—these freedoms are particularly necessary to the transmission of those more fundamental aspects of cultural life such as social, political, and religious ideas and institutions which require long contact and free expression and propagation before they can be fully appreciated and widely desired by the people.

In the history of cultural contact and exchange between the East and the West there are certain important phenomena which have often puzzled the outside observer, and which, I suggest, cannot be satisfactorily explained except by the principle of freedom as a determining factor in cultural transformation.

One group of such facts concerns the strange spectacle of an unchanging Japan after 70 years of apparently most rapid Westernization. Another group of facts concerns the equally strange spectacle of China being rapidly modernized and feeling quite at home in the modern world after many decades of apparent failure in modernization.

Professor G. C. Allen, of the University of Liverpool, said: "If the changes in some of the aspects of her [Japan's] life have been far-reaching, the persistence of

the traditional in other aspects is equally remarkable…. The contrasts between these innovations and the solid core of ancient habit are as striking as ever they were." The late Professor Emil Lederer and Emy Lederer-Seidler, in their joint work on *Japan in Transition*, have dwelt on the most strange phenomenon in Japan, namely, her "immunity to the dialectic play of deep-lying evolutionary forces," her being "devoid of dialectic and dynamic."

There is really no mystery in this unchanging Japan. There is no truth in the theory of the Lederers, for example, that the Japanese civilization has been able to resist change because it has its peculiar vitality and has attained "the completed perfection of its forms."

The true explanation seems to be that this unchanging Japan was the result of deliberate solidification of the more fundamental aspects of her medieval civilization in order to protect them from the perils of Westernization. This process of conscious protection dates back to the early days of her "modernization."

The Japanese leaders thought, just as Lafcadio Hearn thought, that they could build up a Western war machine which should be made to serve as a protective wall behind which all the traditional values of Tokugawa Japan should be preserved unaltered.

The result has been an effective protection and solidification of many fundamental institutions of medieval Japan—the throne, the Shinto religion, the military caste, the worship of force and conquest, the family, the position of women—against the "dangerous" contact and influence of the new ideas and practices of the ever-changing world. It is this deliberate protection of the traditional values that has made them "immune to the dialectic play of deep-lying evolutionary forces."

The same view also explains the history of modernization in China. While Japan's first successes in Westernization were achieved under the leadership and control of her feudal-militaristic class, China has had to spend decades on the effort to remove the monarchy and bring about a political revolution as the pre-condition for her modernization.

The political revolution was in every sense a social and cultural emancipation. In a country where there is no ruling class, the overthrow of the monarchy destroys the last possibility of a centralized control in social change and cultural transformation. It makes possible an atmosphere of free contact, free judgment and criticism, free appreciation, free advocacy, and voluntary acceptance. What has been called the Chinese Renaissance, is the natural product of this atmosphere of freedom. All the important phases of cultural change in China have been the result of this free contact and free diffusion of new ideas and practices, which are impossible in Japan under rigid dynastic and militaristic taboos.

The moral of these two great puzzles in the history of cultural contact between the East and the West is that deliberate authoritarian cultural protectionism can effectively retard or stop the working of the natural selective processes of cultural diffusion; and that "Open Door" and "Free Trade" in cultural commerce and exchange is the necessary condition for the gradual breakdown of the natural inertia of an old civilization and for the appreciation and assimilation of the new.

III

The real crux in all phenomena of cultural diffusion ultimately rests with the recipient people whose past and present attainments, beliefs, and habits constitute the indigenous cultural background against which an incoming new culture has to operate, and whose peculiar emotional, intellectual, and behavioristic reactions to the new culture determine the degree of success or failure in the diffusional process. It is the recipient people, with all its ethnic, ethnographic, and historical make-up, that constitutes the ultimate core of all cultural change. This ultimate core is indestructible. It borrows, chooses, and receives freely from all foreign cultural influences, motifs, patterns, and complexes; and at times it may even appear to have been overwhelmed by a powerful foreign civilization and submerged completely in it. But it always comes up again and regains or reasserts its own characteristic identity. The recipient people colors, transfigures, and transforms the assimilated culture just as much as it is colored, transfigured, and transformed by it. The adopted culture never succeeds in completely blotting out this ultimate ethnic and ethnographic core unless the people itself is physically destroyed by war or by other cruel forces of nature.

This is what is meant by the principle of the recipient people as the ultimate indestructible core of cultural transformation. The spread of Christianity in Europe did not destroy or obliterate the ethnic and cultural identity of the converted peoples, but, on the contrary, it resulted in the development and flowering of many new and distinctive types of Christianity and Christian civilization, varying from the Coptic, the Greek, the Roman, and the Slavic to the Germanic, the Anglo-Saxon, and the Scandinavian.

The same is true of the spread of Buddhism from India to Eastern and Southeastern Asia by land and by sea. Each of these Asiatic peoples interpreted and received the new religion according to its own cultural capacity and read into it its own peculiar cultural contributions and thereby created its own pattern of Buddhism.

The history of the spread of the Occidental culture among the non-European peoples furnishes us with instructive illustrations of the important role of the recipient nation in the reception and transformation of the new culture.

The martial and militaristic aspect of the Western culture, for example, which includes the love for physical combat, the worship of the warrior and the prize fighter, the gigantic scale of military organizations, as well as the superior and always up-to-date weapons of war—this phase of the European civilization was early recognized, feared, and coveted by all the non-European races; yet neither the Hindoo, nor the Burmese, nor the Thai, nor the Chinese, nor the Korean has been capable of adopting and assimilating it. Of all the non-European peoples with which it has come into contact, the Japanese are the only people who has readily taken up this militaristic phase and successfully mastered it in all its ramifications. Japan had been ruled by a military feudal oligarchy for many centuries and was at the height of this militant feudalism when the Western civilization knocked at her gates. It was this militant feudal caste of daimyo and samurai and the militant fashion and spirit

of the feudal age which made it easy for Japan to take over and assimilate with the militaristic phase of the European civilization and, in the brief space of several decades, to become one of the greatest military and naval powers of the world. All the other Asiatic races were ethnically and culturally disqualified or ill-prepared for this important but difficult task of militarization.

On the other hand it was also no mere accident that China was the first Asiatic nation to overthrow the monarchy and develop a democratic political philosophy and democratic political life of its own. For over twenty-one centuries, there has been going on in China a steady process of democratization of the social structure through the early breakdown of feudalism and abolition of primogeniture, through the equal division of inherited property among the sons, through twenty centuries of experience in the selection of men for public office by means of open and competitive examinations, and through the age-long philosophical and educational tradition which teaches in its sacred scriptures that "with education there is no class" and that rebellion against tyrannical government is justifiable. It is this cultural background in the recipient people which has made it easy for the Chinese to appreciate and accept the democratic phase of the Western civilization.

In short, the principle of the recipient people as the ultimate base or core of all cultural change should set us more at ease in regard to the fear that, with freedom of contact and choice, a people may be completely swept off its national cultural foundation and may lose its national identity and become a mere convert to an alien civilization. The cultural history of mankind has shown conclusively that the ethnic and historical core of the recipient race or nation is so deep-rooted that it cannot be destroyed by those new cultural elements which it lacks and desires and which it is capable of assimilating. What is taken, what use is made of what is taken, what will come out of what is taken—all this depends upon the sum-total of the ethnic and cultural core—the recipient people of the new culture. The recipient people is the measure of all things, and in the long run the best judge of all things.

No government, no ruling class, no leadership, is wise enough or far-sighted enough to do the choosing for the people and to artificially protect any part of its indigenous culture from the wholesome contact and even friction with new ideas and institutions of a larger world. Such cultural protectionism from above does not result in "selective assimilation" as it claims to achieve; it only results in short-sighted reactionism and authoritarian suppression. But, given the necessary freedom of contact, of comparison, of criticism and advocacy, of acceptance and rejection, the outcome will be a truly selective assimilation—the only kind of selective cultural assimilation that is desirable and lasting.

Chapter 17
India Our Great Teacher

This day is celebrated throughout China to commemorate not only the new friendship between India and China but also our long and unique historical relationship extending over a period of fully 2,000 years.

It is a well-known historical fact that India conquered and dominated China culturally for twenty centuries without ever having to send a single soldier across her borders. This cultural conquest was never imposed by India on her neighbors. It was all the result of voluntary searching, voluntary learning, voluntary pilgrimage and voluntary acceptance on the part of China.

The real explanation was that the great religion of Buddhism satisfied a need keenly felt by the Chinese people of the time.

Ancient China had a simple religion, so simple that it had no conception of heaven as a paradise for the good people, nor of a hell as a place of last judgment. But India gave to China not only one heaven, but 33 heavens; not only one hell, but 18 hells, each increasing in severity of punishment for the evildoers. Ancient China had only a simple conception of retribution for good and evil, but India gave us the conception of Karma, the idea of absolute causation running through past, present and future existences. China, the leader of civilization of Eastern Asia, bowed to the religious prophets of India and accepted their teachings as words of wisdom from the "Western Heaven." And with the religion of Buddhism, there came into China all its paraphernalia—the philosophy, literature, art, architecture and music of India, every single item of which has had profound influence and far-reaching effects on the cultural life of China and other Asiatic countries.

For more than a thousand years, from the first century A.D. down to the eleventh century, Chinese pilgrims continued to travel by land and by sea to India to seek its scriptures in their original texts and to study under the living masters of the faith. Some of these pilgrims spent decades in India and brought back thousands of

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Chapter Note: Asia Magazine. Sep., 1942. Vol. 42. No. 5. pp. 323–324.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_17, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

manuscripts which they devoted their lives to translating and interpreting to their fellow countrymen. Buddhist teachers and missionaries who came to China throughout the ages were always honored and eagerly listened to. Many of the Buddhistic and Indian ideas and concepts, such as Karma and transmigration of the soul, have become so intimate a part of Chinese thought and belief that the average man never realizes they are of foreign origin. So thorough and so complete was this cultural conquest of China by India that it took China ten centuries to gradually come out of it and to achieve some measure of cultural independence and intellectual renaissance.

China has never been able fully to repay this cultural indebtedness. China could only indirectly repay this debt by helping to spread this Indian culture to her Asiatic neighbors and by preserving in translation India's vast store of religious, philosophical, and historical literature, the originals of which have mostly been lost in India herself.

India, our great teacher, was then not in a mood to receive much from China. The cultural relationship was almost entirely one-sided, with China learning and taking almost everything from India without even paying tuition fee for it. Even paper-making and printing, two of China's greatest contributions to civilization, failed to interest the people of India. Only silk and tea seem to have made their way to the Indian homes. What India has taken from China is exceedingly meager in comparison with what China has received from her.

My people, therefore, enthusiastically welcome India as an old teacher, an old friend and a new comrade in arms. May this new comradeship lead us into another long period of new cultural relationship in which we may march hand in hand in receiving from and contributing to the new civilization which shall be neither eastern nor western but truly universal. India and China should work together, fight together and rebuild our cultural life together; for, in the words of Tennyson,

We are ancients of the earth,
And in the morning of the times.

Chapter 18
The Struggle for Intellectual Freedom in Historic China

Address by Hu Shih at the dinner of the Institute on World Organization, on the general theme "Intellectual Freedom and World Understanding" held at the Cosmos Club, Washington DC, Tuesday evening, May 12, 1942.

It is a great pleasure and a great honor to speak with Dr. Koht on this question of intellectual freedom. It is most fitting that the main speaker of this occasion should be my esteemed friend Dr. Koht, the biographer of Ibsen, one of the greatest champions of intellectual freedom in the modern world.

In his immortal play, "An Enemy of the People," Ibsen has given us a most dramatic picture of the struggle for intellectual freedom in a situation where the announcement of a scientifically ascertained truth is supposed to be against the material welfare of the entire community and is therefore to be suppressed by the explicit wish and the combined authority of that community. And Dr. Stockmann, the hero of the play, who claims the right to speak the truth under all circumstances, is therefore named "An enemy of the people" by the unanimous vote of his fellow citizens.

This play best illustrates what Dr. Leland has said about intellectual freedom being more precarious in the fields of investigation which touch our emotions or our political, cultural, social or economic opinions. That is the heart of the problem. The freedom to search for truth and to announce the results of the research does not form a serious problem, except when those results are considered to be in conflict with the venerated traditional beliefs, or supposed to be against the interest and welfare of the community. Socrates, Jesus of Nazareth and the latter day martyrs in religion, philosophy and science were persecuted, not because they told the truth as they saw it, but because the truths they told were regarded as against some sacred tradition and therefore against the public interest of the community.

Chapter Note: World Affairs. Sep., 1942. Vol. 105. No. 3. pp. 170–173.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_18, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

Intellectual freedom, therefore, is the freedom to tell the truth even though the telling of it hurts the feelings of the guardians of the sacred tradition or public morals or common welfare of society. In other words, intellectual freedom is a species of the freedom of speech, freedom of opinion, freedom of the press, or freedom of religion, the exercise of which is supposedly in conflict with some fundamental aspect of an established tradition or general welfare of the community.

At the very end of Ibsen's play "An Enemy of the People," Dr. Stockmann announced that he had made another discovery: that the greatest man in the world is he who stands most alone. A Chinese reader of that announcement is invariably reminded of a great saying of Mencius, the Chinese sage of the fourth century B.C., whose moral and intellectual authority is second only to Confucius. "The great man," says Mencius, "is he who cannot be tempted by wealth and honor, who cannot be budged by poverty and lowliness, and who cannot be subjugated by authority and power: such a man is called the Great Man." Only such a man can be the champion and the fighter for intellectual freedom against the dead weight of tradition and in defiance of persecution brought against him in the name of the common welfare of society, the state or the church.

It was easy for Chinese thinkers in the time of Confucius and Mencius to seek truths and to teach them publicly, because theirs was an age of separate, independent and rival states when a thinker exiled from one state could find asylum and refuge in another. It was somewhat like the Europe after the Reformation and before the conquest by Hitler, wherein a book suppressed in Rome could be published in Leyden, Holland; and a heretic persecuted in France could be welcomed in Geneva or London.

But it was very difficult for Chinese thinkers to find intellectual freedom under the unified Empire within which there was practically no political asylum for the persecuted. It is, therefore, the greatest glory in Chinese intellectual history that throughout these twenty-one centuries of unified Empire life there has been maintained a tradition of comparative freedom and independence of thought and research,—thought that often came in open conflict with the established tradition of the great religions; and research that often resulted in historical, philological and philosophical discoveries openly at variance with the traditional authority of the Schools.

Broadly speaking there were three periods of struggle for intellectual freedom under the Empire. The first period, from the first century A.D. to the third century, was a period in which courageous thinkers sought to criticize and overthrow the ideas and beliefs of the religious and philosophical tradition of the Han Empire. The greatest leader of this period was Wang Chung whose *Lun Heng* has been translated into English by the German Sinologue Dr. A. Forks, consisting of about 80 essays, most of which aimed at exposing the fallacies of the various ideas and practices of the religion of the Empire and the people. Wang Chung said that the superstitious beliefs and practices and the forged books and documents of his age often made his blood boil and his hands itch to write and that his sole object was to sift the false from the true, and the spurious from the authentic.

The second period of the Chinese struggle for intellectual freedom covered the medieval period during which the doctrines and practices of the great medieval religions of Buddhism and Taoism were subjected to severe criticism and courageous doubt. This critical spirit existed both within the religious schools and among those who were their exponents. Courageous thinking among the Buddhists themselves, for example, gave rise to the newer schools of liberal and even radical thought, such as the various schools of Ch'an or Zen Buddhism. The severe criticisms of the Confucianist scholars against the medieval religions, on the other hand, brought about several persecutions against Buddhism and finally resulted in the revival of classical Chinese thought after the tenth century A.D. One of the great heroes of this period was Han Yu whose memorials to the throne attacking the established religion of Buddhism caused his political exile in 819 by the order of the Emperor, but whose critical writings laid the foundation for the cultural renaissance in the subsequent centuries.

The third period of struggle for intellectual freedom included the long period of Rational philosophy from the eleventh century to the nineteenth century. Practically all the founders of the great schools of Rational philosophy of various ages were subjected to political persecution, proscription, exile and sometimes bodily punishment. Sometimes thinkers were persecuted because of their courage to preach unorthodox doctrines and to found new schools of thought. But in most cases persecution befell those courageous scholars who were exercising their traditional right of out-spoken censure and criticism against political corruption and misrule. Some of these censors were punished by torture or even by death. But the struggle for free and out-spoken criticism went on. As a philosopher in the early seventeenth century expressed it, "There are two things supreme in the world: Authority and Reason. Of the two Reason is the more supreme; because in the history of the struggle of courageous scholars against despotic governments, Reason always ultimately triumphs. Therefore, Reason is more supreme than political authority." That best expresses the spirit of Chinese warriors in the fight for freedom of thought and criticism.

Throughout the last 300 years the struggle for intellectual freedom has taken a more constructive form and has stood on a more solid foundation. The scholars who sought to overthrow the great authority of the established commentaries, have gradually perfected a more effective weapon in the form of a scientific methodology. They have swept away traditional scholarship by resorting to the most ancient lexicons and by perfecting a philological and archaeological approach to the study of the classical works. To all appearances, these scientific scholars have succeeded in avoiding the glamorous persecutions. But the spirit of independent thinking and courageous doubting has pervaded the thought and scholarship of three centuries.

Mr. Wu Ching-heng, the oldest living philosopher of present-day China, told me this story. As a young man in his teens he was presented to the Master of the famous Nan Tsing Academy at Kiangyin. When he entered the room he saw a scroll on the wall with eight characters written in the large and bold writing of the Master of the Academy, which in translation says, "Seek the truth and do not compromise." Mr. Wu said that those eight words left so indelible an impression on his youthful mind that he has cherished them throughout his long life.

Last year I brought to the Library of Congress a collection of my father's unpublished manuscripts for safe keeping. I pointed out a very striking thing to Dr. A. W. Hummel, Chief of the Division of Orientalia in the Library. Some of my father's writings were notes kept by him in an old-fashioned academy in Shanghai over 70 years ago. These notes were written on regulation blanks printed by the academy for the use of the students. On the top of every page was printed a motto in red which read in part:

> The student must first learn to approach the subject in a spirit of doubt. … The philosopher Chang Tsai (1020–1077 A.D.) used to say: 'If you can doubt at points where other people feel no impulse to doubt, then you are making progress.'…

Approach every subject in the spirit of doubt; seek the truth; do not compromise. That has been the spirit of the Chinese thinkers who have kept burning the torch of intellectual freedom throughout the ages.

In conclusion I would like to point out that in the international aspect of this question, my people are now fighting a terribly hard war because my people who have always regarded doubt as a virtue and criticism as a right do not wish to be dominated by a people who condemn all thinking as dangerous.

Chapter 19
The Concept of Immortality in Chinese Thought

Subtitle: Being the Ingersoll Lecture on the Immortality of Man for the Academic Year 1944–1945, Harvard University. Delivered in Andover Chapel, April 10, 1945.

I

In this lecture, I shall attempt to present a historical study of the development of the conceptions of immortality or human survival after death as they have been evolved in China throughout the various stages of Chinese religious and philosophical history.

The story is a long one, covering roughly 3,000 years. But the main outlines are fairly clearly defined. For the history of Chinese belief and thought can be conveniently divided into two main periods: (1) the Age of Indigenous Chinese culture (1300 B.C.–200 A.D.) and (2) the Age of Indianized Chinese thought and culture, that is, the period since Buddhism and Indian thought began to influence Chinese life and institutions (approximately from 200 A.D. to the nineteenth century).

For the convenience of the student of the religious and intellectual history of the Chinese people, the indigenous, pre-Buddhistic age may again be broadly divided into two main eras:

1. The Era of Primitive Siniticism, that is, of the religious beliefs and practices of the Shang and Chou peoples, for which the term "Siniticism" or "the Sinitic Religion" is here suggested (1300–700 B.C.).
2. The era of intellectual and philosophical maturity (700 B.C.–200 A.D.), which embraces the classical philosophers from Lao Tzu and Confucius (551–479 B.C.) to Wang Ch'ung (29 A.D.–100 A.D.).

Chapter Note: Harvard Divinity School Bulletin. No. 122, 1945–1946, pp. 23–46.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_19, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

For our special inquiry concerning the concept of immortality in Chinese thought, we shall ask:

1. What do we know of the early Sinitic notions of human survival after death?
2. What have the Chinese classical philosophers contributed to the concept of immortality?
3. How shall we describe the Chinese conception of human survival as resulting from the long period of Indianization?

II

One of the most important events in the historical world has been the recent accidental discovery and the later systematic excavation of thousands of inscribed bones and tortoise shells and other historical objects at Anyang in the province of Honan. Anyang was the site of the last capital of the Shang Dynasty to which traditional chronology assigns the dates 1783–1123 [B.C.] (or, according to another calculation, 1751–1123 [B.C.]). These archaeological finds are the authentic remains of the period during which Anyang was the capital, covering about 262 years (1385–1123 [B.C.]).

Thousands of these inscribed bones and shells have been collected, studied and deciphered in recent decades. Practically all these thousands of bone "documents" are records of divination kept by the learned priests after each act of divination. They tell of the date, the diviner in charge, the question asked, and the answer given in the reading of the cracking caused by a process of burning underneath the shell or bone.

Most of the questions concern the regular cycle of sacrifices to the royal ancestors. These ancestral sacrifices are so numerous and so regular that Mr. Tung Cho-pin of the Academia Sinica, who was the first man to conduct the Anyang excavations in 1928, and who participated in all later excavations, has been able to work out a chronological schedule of the daily sacrifices under three Kings, covering the years 1273–1241 [B.C.], 1209–1175 [B.C.], and 1174–1123 [B.C.],—totalling 120 years, with about 360 regularly scheduled sacrifices to each year! It is no wonder, therefore, that the Shang people called the calendar year by the name of *Szu* (a cycle of sacrifices)!

Other questions for divination include war, travels, hunting, crops, weather, sickness, the propitiousness of each 10-day period, and others.

As a result of the excavations carried on in the years 1928–1936, several hundred tombs of the Shang Dynasty, including at least four royal tombs, have been scientifically excavated. In addition to the thousands of inscribed tortoise shells and animal bones, there have been found numerous bronze sacrificial vessels of advanced workmanship, stone sculptures of artistic beauty and vigor, a vast number of household utensils, weapons of war and helmets, and over a thousand human bodies. Many animals were found buried, including such domesticated ones as dogs, pigs, sheep, cattle and horses.

The animals were buried as sacrifices to the dead. In one pit, there were found 38 horse skeletons, all wearing "bridles, beautifully studded with a great many decorated buttons; these are still in place, tracing the lines of the strap composing the bridle." (Creel, *The Birth of China*, p. 150.)

There are clear evidences that many of the human bodies were buried as sacrifices to the dead. More than a thousand headless skeletons were found in the tombs excavated in 1934 and 1935. "The skeletons are buried in pits which contain ten individuals. The bodies are buried in rectangular pits. …The skulls are buried separately, in square pits near by. Ten skulls are buried in a pit, standing vertically in regular rows, all looking toward the north. The objects found with the skeletons… include such things as small bronze knives and axe-heads, and grinding-stones, always ten to a pit, apparently one for each man." (Creel, p. 212–3.)

Such are the documentary and material evidences which archaeology has unearthed for our understanding of the religion of ancestor-worship in the earliest historical period of Siniticism.

For the first time we are made to realize the extraordinary and extravagant nature of this religion of ancestor-worship as represented in its royal and official form of the Shang period. Traditional history had told of the Shang people as worshippers of the spirits of the dead ancestors. But not until recent years did we realize the almost unbelievable frequency of the regular sacrifices and the extravagance in the vast quantity of costly treasures buried with the dead and particularly in the astoundingly large number of victims of human sacrifice.

The frequency and regularity of the cycles of ancestral sacrifices undoubtedly implies a belief that the dead ancestors have feelings, desires and wants similar to those of the living, and that those feelings, desires and wants have to be appeased by regular offerings and sacrifices. The burial with the dead of large numbers of utensils and weapons, animals and human slaves and guards points to the same conclusion.

Ancient Chinese documents make a distinction between two types of human sacrifices found in Sinitic times. One type is called "using human victims" at the altar of sacrifice. In this kind of human sacrifice, apparently only captives of war were used. The other type had a special term *Hsun* which may be translated as "followers of the dead" or "human beings killed and buried with the dead." *Hsun* was defined by Cheng Hsuan (d. 200 A.D.) as "killing men as guards for the dead." The idea was that the dead wants his own bodyguards for his protection and his favorite wives and play-boys to keep him company. Human beings thus killed and buried with the dead were those whom the dead had either explicitly designated to "follow" him or would have liked to have with him.

Judging from later historical cases of *Hsun*, it seems most probable that this custom of killing and burying human beings with a dead ancestor originated as a kind of "love offering" wherein the dying man explicitly selected his own favorite companions in death, but it was extended into a ritual wherein large numbers of armed soldiers were killed and buried as "guards" of the dead. The human bodies found buried with the great dead of the Shang period were undoubtedly intended as armed guards for the King! There were most probably favorite women selected to die with the King, but their bodies are no longer identifiable. Among the bone inscriptions, there were references to the offering of human captives at the ancestral sacrifices.

The systematic manner in burying these human victims according to a regular plan and numerical order suggests an established and accepted ritualism which had so long dulled the natural feeling of man as to make such acts of extreme cruelty matters of routine performance. When the royal court and government were busily engaged in daily performances of elaborate sacrifices to the ancestors, and the learned priesthood was burdened with the daily duty of sacrifices, divinations, and deciphering and recording of the divinations,—under such circumstances, it was well-nigh impossible to expect any important intellectual and religious awakening essential to change and reform in the religious system. Such an awakening did not come until after a great war which overthrew the Shang Dynasty and broke up the Empire, and until after several centuries of racial and cultural conflict under the new conquerors.

III

The Shang Dynasty and Empire were conquered by the Chou people, who first settled in the far west and gradually moved eastward until, after over a century of steady growth in military strength and political organization, they finally overwhelmed the armies and allies of the Shangs in the last decades of the twelfth century B.C.

In a number of public proclamations of the founders of the Chou Dynasty, the conquerors listed charges against the Shang Court and Government. The main accusations against the Court were indulgence in sensuous living, neglect of the welfare of the people, and, in particular, the prevalence of drunkenness. The fact that no accusation or condemnation was made of the amazing frequency, extravagance and cruelty in the sacrifices, shows that the new conquerors did not regard the Shang religion as anything unusually cruel or wrong.

But the Chou conquerors seem to have had a religion of their own which, while it included certain features of ancestral worship, did not emphasize those features, nor did it work out any elaborate rituals for the worship of ancestors. On the other hand, there were numerous evidences to show that this westerly people were worshippers of a Supreme God whom they called *Ti* or *Shang Ti* (Supreme God).

The Anyang oracular inscriptions lead many scholars to conclude that the conception of *Ti* and even of *Shang Ti* was not unfamiliar to the Shang people. It seems fairly certain that the Shang people had a custom of paying special honor to a select few of their ancestors by "deifying" them, that is, by conferring on them the title of *Ti* (God). And it seems also quite probable that, in the course of time, there was evolved the *Shang Ti*, the Supreme God or High God, who was no other than their first ancestor. It was a Tribal God. From time to time, a great ancestor of unusual achievement in war and peace would be elevated to the rank of Ti who would then be worshipped together with the Supreme God as his companion. The sacrifice to God or to an ancestor-god was also called *Ti*. Mr. Fu Ssu-nien in his work *On the Ancient Notions of HSING and MING* lists 63 bone inscriptions in which the word

Ti is used. Of these, 17 times it is used to denote the sacrifice to a deified ancestor; six times as a title of the ancestor-god; and 26 times as "God" without other qualifying words. In this last group of inscriptions, *Ti* (God) is said to have "caused to rain," "caused not to rain," "caused famine to befall us," etc. This implies undoubtedly a conception of a knowing and powerful God, a theistic conception which seems to have been dwarfed and stunted by the more prominent rituals of ancestor-worship.

The Chou people, in their long contact with the Shang culture, came to adopt the tribal God of the Shangs as their God and claimed him as their first ancestor. By being borrowed by another race or tribe, the *Shang Ti* gradually lost his tribal attributes and in time became the universal God and Supreme Lord.

The religious hymns and political proclamations of the Chou people manifest a high degree of deep and genuine religious fervor. They seem to be convinced that God was displeased by the misrule and immorality of the Shang rulers and that He had transferred His favor and mandate (*ming*) to the Chou people. Their battle-cry was:

"God is watching over you:
Waver not in your mind!"

Their eulogy for their great King was:

"O this great Wen Wang!
With cautious reverence,
He devoutly served God."

The early Chou people seem to have developed a vague notion that the Supreme God dwelt in Heaven where their few great Kings would also go and be by the side of God. One of the hymns to King Wen says:

"The Great Wen Wang is on high.
……
Wen Wang arose on high
And is by the side of God."

And in another hymn:

"… O, the Chou House!
It has had wise kings in every age.
Three Kings are in Heaven."

These passages seem to indicate that the Chou people had a limited notion of Heaven as the abode of the Supreme God and of very few great kings or ancestors who, by special merit or virtue, were allowed to be by the side of God.

Such an exclusive Heaven was not to be shared by the ordinary people, the vast majority of whom were the Shang people, ruled over by a new ruling class of feudal princes receiving their original fiefs from the Chou Dynasty. This vast majority of the people continued to practice their religion of ancestor-worship.

But the great days of the extravagant royal religion of ancestor-worship were gone forever. Gone were the great annual cycles of daily sacrifices. Gone also were the human sacrifices on the grandest scale. The learned class of royal priesthood, too, had degraded into a professional class of scribes and priests who subsisted on

performing and assisting in the funeral, burial and sacrificial rites in the families of the majority of the subject masses and in those of the small minority of the ruling aristocratic classes. National disaster and personal poverty had inculcated into them the lesson of humility and meekness. So this priest-scribe class came to acquire the generic name of *Ju*, meaning the meek and humble. They continued to teach and perform the traditional rites of funeral, burial, mourning, and ancestor-worship.

During the long period of the Chou Dynasty and the later independent and contending states (1100–250 B.C.), the theistic religion of the ruling classes and the more predominantly ancestor-worshipping religion of the masses seem to have influenced each other and were gradually coming together in what may be properly called "the Sinitic Religion," in which a much simplified ancestor-worship co-existed with such theistic features as a general recognition and worship of Heaven or God above a host of other minor gods. One of the main points of difference was the extremely long period of mourning—3 years for a dead parent—which was generally practiced by the Shang people but was long resisted by the ruling classes of Chou origin. This was still true at the time of Mencius, who flourished in about 300 B.C. It was not until after the second century A.D. that the 3-year mourning period came to be required by law of all officials and candidates for the civil service.

IV

What can we know of the earliest Chinese conception of human survival after death?

We may begin our inquiry by glancing at the ancient ritual of "Recall of the Departed Spirit" at the time of a man's death. This ritual is found in the oldest ritual books and seems to have been widely practiced in early Sinitic times. It is called the *fu* ritual.

As soon as a man is found dead, a member of his family climbs upon the roof of the house with a set of clothes belonging to the dead. He faces the north, waves the dead man's clothes, and calls aloud—"O! Thou so-and-so, come back!" When the call is repeated three times, he throws down the clothes from the housetop and descends himself. The clothes are picked up and spread over the dead man's body. After that, food is offered before him. (*I Li*, Bk. 12; cf. *Li Chi*, Bk. 2 and Bk. 9.)

This ancient ritual implies a notion that at a man's death, something goes out of his body and seems to have gone up in the air. Hence the recall is performed on housetops.

The ritual of Recall probably also suggests a primitive intention of reviving the dead by calling that fleeing something back to the dead body. The fact that food is offered after the Recall ritual seems to suggest a belief that something *is* called back, which, although it may not revive the dead, is supposed to abide in the house and receive the offerings and sacrifices.

What is that something which goes out of the man at his death? It is the "light" or "soul" of the man. In the earliest literature, it was called *pai*, which etymologically means white, whiteness, and bright light. It is interesting to note that the same name, *pai*, was used in ancient bronze inscriptions and records to designate the growing light of the new moon. The periods of growing brightness after the new moon are called "the *pai* being born"; and the last phases after the full moon are called "the *pai* dying." The primitive Chinese seem to have regarded the changing phases of the moon as periodic birth and death of its *pai*, its "white light" or soul.

By analogy, the early Chinese regarded death as the passing out of the *pai*, the "light" or soul of the man. This analogy may have its origin in the "will-o'-the-wisp," which the Chinese today call "ghost-light." At an early stage, the *pai* was conceived as that which gave the man life, knowledge and intelligence. At death, the soul (*pai*) departs from the body and becomes, or is regarded as, a *kwei*, a spirit or ghost. But the soul's departure from the body may be gradual; with the decline of vitality and the faculties, the *pai* is passing out bit by bit, as it were. As late as the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., learned men and statesmen sometimes spoke of a man showing signs of declining intelligence as "Heaven (or God) having taken away his *pai*,"—that is, he would die before long. (*Tso Chuan*, years 594 and 544 B.C.)

In a later age, however, the notion of *pai* was gradually replaced by a new conception of the soul as something without shape and color, but moving and active. It is something most like the breath from the mouth of a living being. This is called the *hun*. Gradually the old word *pai* came to mean, not the life-giving and light-giving soul, but the body and bodily strength.

The word *hun* is etymologically the same as the word *yun*, meaning "clouds." The clouds float about and seem more free and more active than the cold, white-lighted portion of the growing and waning moon. The idea of a *hun* may have been a contribution from the southern peoples among whom the ritual of *fu* (Recall of the dead) was called *chao-hun*, the recall of the *hun* or soul.

In an age when the philosophers were taking up the important conception of the *yin* and the *yang* (the female and male principles) as the passive and active principles or forces in the universe, it was not unnatural that attempts should be made to reconcile the different tribal beliefs and that the human soul should come to be regarded as consisting in a residual and passive *pai* and a more active and cloud-like *hun*.

After the sixth century B.C., it became customary to speak of the human soul as the *hun* or as *hun-pai*. In discussing a widespread popular agitation about the appearance of the ghost of a one-time powerful politician who had been murdered 8 years before, Tsu Ch'an (died 522 B.C.), a famous statesman who was regarded as one of the wisest men of the age, said that it was possible that a strong personality dying an unnatural death might become a ghost with power to harm people. His explanation is as follows: "A man's life begins with the formation of the *pai*. The active part of the *pai* is called the *hun*. When properly nourished, the *pai* and *hun* grow strong. Therefore there is vitality, intelligence and even insight. When a common man or a common woman dies naturally, his or her soul, (*hun-pai*), by attaching itself onto some living being (such as a medium or a witch), may be able to terrify and harm people. Even so with Liang-hsiao (the murdered politician

whose apparition had been the talk of the city), … whose family has held political power for three generations, …and who certainly has been plentifully and richly nourished. … And he died a forced death. Is it, then, not unexpected that he should become a terrifying ghost?" (*Tso Chuan*, 535 B.C.)

A story is told of another wise man of the age, Chi Cha, of the Southern State of Wu, who lost his son while travelling in the north (probably in 515 B.C.) on a diplomatic mission. Attracted by the great reputation of the father as a master of the philosophy underlying the rituals, Confucius was a witness at the burial ceremony. After the tomb had been closed, the father, partially baring his left shoulder and arm, walked around the grave three times, speaking with crying voice these words: "Destined it is that the bones and the flesh should return to the earth. But the breath of the *hun* (soul) goes everywhere,—goes everywhere!" After that, Chi Cha went on his journey.

These two often quoted stories probably indicate some of the intellectual attempts in working out some general conception of human survival on the basis of incoherent and often inconsistent popular beliefs. This general theory is conveniently summed up in such classical quotations as the following: "The bodily *pai* goes downward; the breath of the intellect remains on high." (*Li Chi*, Bk. 9.) "The soul-breath returns to the skies; the bodily *pai* returns to the earth." (*Li Chi*, Bk. 11.) It will be seen that these formulations agree in general with the alleged saying of Chi Cha at his son's burial that "the bones and the flesh should return to the earth, but the breath of the soul goes everywhere."

The philosophers of the orthodox schools did not go beyond this and speculate about what becomes of the soul-breath after leaving the body and rising up and floating in the air. They tried to evade the issue by saying that they did not know. Some, as will be seen later, actually denied the existence of ghosts and gods.

But the vast majority of the people are not troubled by such scruples. They accept the soul (*hun*) as a fact and as a real entity. They are sure that the soul can move about either in the earth or in our own midst,—invisible ordinarily, but visible if necessary. They are sure that it is the soul which makes the ghost or spirit; that, while the natural abode of the soul is in the grave, in the earth—the "yellow springs,"—he may, and likes to, visit his family at home; that the ghost can and does eat and drink the sacrificial offerings. They are equally sure that if no food is offered, the ghost will hunger and may "starve." For there was an old belief that "a ghost does not enjoy the sacrifices offered by people who are not his own descendants." This belief underlies the old religion of ancestor-worship, which makes it a great sin for a man not to have posterity.

There was also a related belief that if a ghost has nowhere to go and enjoy proper sacrifices, then he will do things to terrorize and injure people. This belief justifies the institution of appointing and adopting an heir for a man who dies without a son.

But Chinese ancestor-worship, even in the earliest historical times, set a limit to the number of ancestors to be worshipped. For the ordinary man without official rank, sacrifices are offered only to the dead parents and grandparents. Even in the great families, sacrifices are limited to three or four generations. The remote

ancestors are "promoted" (*t'iao*) by every new generation to the unsacrificed class. A system of regular "promotion" (*t'iao*) of remote ancestors to the unsacrificed class is worked out in detail by Confucianist scholars and is applied to the ancestors of the royal and imperial families.

What becomes of the ghosts of the "promoted" ancestors? Will they not starve? The answer has been that the souls gradually shrink smaller and smaller and finally disintegrate entirely. There is a popular belief that "new ghosts are bigger than old ones." On some such grounds, the old dictionaries define "death" (*szu*) as "destruction by disintegration." This definition sums up both the common sense of the Chinese common man and the skepticism and rationalism of the intelligentsia. The Sinitic religion of the early Chinese people, in short, has some notion of human survival after death. But the human soul, which gives life and knowledge to the living body, survives as a spirit or ghost only for a time varying apparently in length according to its own strength, but gradually fades out and ultimately disintegrates entirely. It is not immortal.

V

Now, even so moderate a conception of human survival was viewed with some suspicion and alarm by the philosophers. Even the orthodox philosophers who came from the priestly class of the *Ju*, and who were trained as masters of the rites and rituals of funeral, burial and ancestor-worship,—even they were worried by the expensiveness of the sacrifices, and the objects buried with the dead, and by the lingering primitive practice of human sacrifices in certain influential quarters.

The *Tso Chuan*, a chronological compilation of historical narratives covering the years 722–468 B.C., records six cases (621, 594, 589, 581, 529 and 508 B.C.) of *hsun*, that is, killing human beings to be buried with the dead, of which only one instance (that of 594 [B.C.]) was a conscious disobedience of the expressed wish of a dying father to have his favorite concubine buried with him. The other five cases involved many human lives sacrificed in royal burials. Two of these instances (529 and 508 [B.C.]) took place during the lifetime of Confucius (551–479 [B.C.]). In 529 [B.C.], when the King of Ch'u died in exile in the midst of a civil war, his host killed two of his own daughters and buried them with his King as His Majesty's companions in death.

The book of *T'an Kung* (which forms Bk. II of the *Li Chi* and which consists of a large number of narratives relating to Confucius, his followers of the first and second generation, and their contemporaries) records, apparently with approval, two instances of deliberate refusal to kill and bury human beings with the dead. Both of these cases seem to belong to the time shortly after the death of Confucius.

The *Tso Chuan* also records seven cases (641, 627, 588, 537, 532, 531 and 503 B.C.) of another type of human sacrifice,—that of sacrificing war captives at an altar of worship. In three of these, all instances of a strange custom of killing a war captive and using his blood to smear the war drum,—the victims were spared. In the

case of 503 B.C., the prince of a defeated tribe of "barbarian" origin was captured in war and was offered alive at the altar as a sacrifice, but his life was spared after the ceremony. This case happened in Confucius' home state of Lu when he was nearly 50 years old.

While these recorded cases are confined to state action and to practices in royal and noble families, they indicate beyond any doubt the persistence and the wide spread of human sacrifice to a dead ancestor or to a god. The general development of civilization had already reached a very high level of humanitarianism and rationalism so that most of these inhuman practices were recorded with the severe disapproval of the historian. Nevertheless, these things were done by respectable people in supposedly civilized states. No wonder, therefore, that the thinkers of the age should feel disturbed by the religious ideas which lay beneath those inhuman practices.

The philosophers of the school of Confucius seem to have come to the conclusion that the basic idea underlying the human sacrifices and the burial of expensive objects with the dead was the belief that a man retains his knowledge and feelings after death. One of Confucius' disciples said: "The Hsia people used crude 'token utensils' in burying their dead, because they wanted to tell the people that the dead have no knowledge. The Shang people used real utensils for sacrifice and burial, because they wanted to tell the people that the dead have knowledge. We in the Chou time are burying both real and token utensils with the dead, because we want to tell the people that we are in doubt whether or not the dead have knowledge." (*Li Chi*, Bk. 2.) This statement frankly points out the historic connection between the burial of real objects and utensils with the dead and the belief in the survival of human knowledge after death.

Confucius himself took the same view. He said: "Those who make the token utensils (*ming ch'i*) for burial have really understood the principle of the rites of mourning the dead. … What a great pity that the dead should be expected to use the real objects intended for the living! Would that not be tantamount to killing human beings to be buried with the dead? … Clay carriages and straw effigies have been used ever since ancient times: that is the (proper) way of making 'token utensils' for burial. … It is inhuman even to make 'burial puppets' which are lifelike, for would that not be too close to using real human beings to accompany the dead?" (*Li Chi*, Bk. 2; cf. *Mencius*, Bk. I, Ch. 4.)

It is quite clear that Confucius and some of his disciples openly opposed the use of "real utensils" for burial, which would imply the belief in the survival of human intelligence after death. But do they then openly accept and teach the notion that the dead have no knowledge?

Confucius and his school preferred to take the agnostic position and leave the question in doubt. Confucius said: "It is not human to say that the dead are really dead. Therefore, we should not say that. It is not intelligent to say that the dead are not dead, but alive. Therefore, we should not say that." (*Li Chi*, Bk. 2.) The proper attitude, then, is that we do not know.

This agnosticism is more explicitly taught in *The Analects*. When a disciple asked how to serve the ghosts and the gods, Confucius said: "We have not yet

learned to serve man, how can we serve the ghosts?" The same disciple then asked: "What is death?" The Master said: "We do not know life, how do we know death?" And on one occasion, Confucius spoke thus to this disciple: "Yu, shall I teach you what knowledge is? To say that you know when you do know; and that you do not know when you do not know: that is knowledge."

It was only one step for some of his followers to go from this agnostic position to that of a frank denial of the survival of human intelligence after death, and therefore a denial of the existence and reality of all ghosts, spirits and gods. And in the fifth and fourth centuries [B.C.], the Confucianist school was accused by their opponents of the Mo religion as actually denying the existence of gods and ghosts.

The Mo religion was founded by Mo Ti, the greatest religious leader of the fifth century B.C., who made a great stir by his earnest efforts to defend and reform the theistic religion of the people. He believed in a personal God whose will is that man should love all men without distinction. He firmly believed in the existence and reality of gods and ghosts. In the works attributed to Mo Ti, there is one lengthy essay, "To Prove the Existence of Ghosts" (Bk. 31). In this essay, Mo Ti tried to prove the existence of ghosts by three groups of arguments: (1) that so many people have actually seen or heard the ghosts; (2) that the existence of ghosts is either explicitly recorded or implied in many ancient books; and (3) that recognition of the existence of ghosts is useful to the moral conduct of the people and the welfare of the state.

Mo Ti revived and founded a religion of great force. He was one of the greatest and most lovable characters in Chinese history. But he did not "prove" the existence of ghosts.

In later ages, orthodox Chinese thinkers either simply accepted the traditional worship and sacrifices without serious questioning, or took refuge in the agnostic position of Confucius and professed that they did not know whether the dead had knowledge or not. To make the Confucian position more explicit, later Confucianists invented the following apocryphal story which first appeared in the first century B.C. and became more popular in a revised version of the third century A.D. This is the story. A disciple asked whether the dead had knowledge or not. Confucius said: "Were I to say that the dead had knowledge, I would be afraid that pious sons and grandsons might go so far as to injure life in order to accompany the dead. But, were I to say that the dead had no knowledge at all, I would be afraid that undutiful sons might abandon their dead parents without a burial. Szu, you are not in any urgency to know whether the dead have knowledge or not. Some day you will understand." (Liu Hsiang's *Shuo Yuan*, Bk. 18; and *K'ung-Tzu Chia Yu*, Bk. 2.)

But some Chinese thinkers frankly took an atheistic position. Wang Ch'ung (27-c. 100 A.D.), one of China's greatest philosophers, wrote several essays (*Lun Heng*, Bks. 61, 63, 65) to prove that "A dead man does not become a ghost, has no knowledge, and cannot harm people." He frankly holds that "when the blood in a man's veins ceases to flow, his breath and spirit are disintegrated, and the body decomposes into dust and earth. There is no ghost." One of his most famous reasonings to prove that there are no ghosts is this: "If it be true that the ghost consists of the dead man's soul, then, all ghosts seen by men should be seen in naked form, and certainly

should not wear clothes. For surely clothes and girdles have no souls to survive decomposition. How can ghosts be seen with clothes on?"

As far as I am aware, this argument has never been successfully refuted.

VI

Even as Wang Ch'ung worked on his great *Essays of Criticism* (*Lun Heng*), the great religion of Buddhism was invading China and was already making converts both among the masses and in influential circles. In a brief period of two or three centuries, China was conquered by this Indian religion; and Chinese thought and belief, religion and art, and indeed life in every direction, became gradually Indianized. This process of Indianization went on for nearly 2,000 years.

Strictly speaking, original Buddhism was an atheistic philosophy in that it taught that all things, including the self, are accidental combinations of the elements and will eventually disintegrate and return to the elements. Nothing is permanent; nothing has continuity and stability. There exists no self, no ego, no soul.

But the Chinese people were not interested in metaphysical speculations of this kind. To the popular mind, Buddhism was the great religion which first taught China many, many heavens and many, many hells; and which first taught China the wonderful idea of transmigration of souls and the equally wonderful idea of absolute retribution of good and evil throughout past, present and future existences.

These wonderful ideas were eagerly taken in by the millions of men and women in China, because these were the very ideas which the old Sinitic religion lacked. In the course of time, all these ideas became part and parcel of Chinese religious thinking and believing. They became part and parcel of the revived Sinitic religion now flourishing under the name of Taoism. The heavens were now given Chinese names, and the hells were presided over by Chinese Kings and Judges. The bliss of the heavens, the horror of the hells, the pilgrim's progress through the heavens, the evildoer's sufferings through the hells—all these ideas were not only sung in songs and recited in imaginative tales, but also everywhere vividly pictured in huge mural paintings in the temples and monasteries for the daily edification and terrorizing of the people.

In this manner, the old Sinitic religion came to be enriched, renovated and reinforced. In this manner, Siniticism was Indianized. In the same manner, the old conception of the soul and its survival came to be completely made anew. The soul still goes by the name *hun*, but it is now conceived as capable of everlastingly going through all stages of transmigration, for better and for worse, all in accordance with the absolute causal chain of moral retribution. It is the *hun* that goes to the Tushita heaven, or the wondrously blissful paradise presided over by the Amitabha of boundless longevity and boundless illumination. And it is the *hun* of the evildoer which suffers all forms of torture in the hells, being burned in boiling oil, being slowly chiseled, being pounded and ground, being quartered and requartered.

This Buddhist conquest of medieval China was so overwhelming that many Chinese intellectuals were swept off their feet. They, too, were dazzled by the grandiose imagery and obscurantist metaphysics of the new religion and were captivated by it. But in the course of time, Chinese humanism, naturalism and skepticism gradually came back.

About the year 510 A.D., at the height of Buddhist conquest, a classical scholar, Fan Chên, started the attack on the new religion by frankly denying the existence of the soul. He published an essay on "The Destructibility of the Soul." He said: "The body and the soul are one and the same thing. The soul lasts only as the body lasts. The soul is destroyed when the body is destroyed." His most famous argument is the following paragraph. "The body is the material basis of the soul. The soul is only the functioning of the body. The soul is to the body what sharpness is to a sharp knife. We have never known the existence of sharpness after the knife is destroyed. How can we admit the survival of the soul when the body is gone?"

Fan Chên's essay consists of 31 questions and answers. It ends by pointing out that his thesis of the destructibility of the soul was intended to liberate the Chinese nation from the pitiful domination of the untruthful and selfish religion of Buddhism.

The publication of the essay greatly displeased the Emperor Wu Ti of Liang (502–549 A.D.), who was a devout Buddhist. Both the monks and the lay Buddhists were excited. The Emperor issued a decree refuting Fan's thesis by reminding him that all three great religions,—Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism,—agree in upholding the indestructibility of the soul, and that the ignorant and narrow-minded author should know at least what the Confucianist classics had to say on the subject. The imperial refutation was enthusiastically copied by a great Buddhist abbot and sent to 62 princes, ministers of the Government, and recognized scholars of the age for comment. All 62 notables sent replies heartily endorsing the emperor's refutation.

But the historians tell us that "although the whole Court and country were in uproar against Fan Chên, no one succeeded in refuting his arguments."

Fan's thesis that the soul is only the functioning of the body and cannot survive the destruction of the body has had great influence in Chinese thought of later ages. The philosopher-historian, Szu-ma Kuang (1019–1086), for example, took a similar line of reasoning in his attacks on the popular beliefs in heaven and hell. He said: "When the body has decomposed, and the spirit disintegrated, what is left there to undergo the chiseling, burning, pounding and grinding, even if there be such cruel tortures in the hells?" This is almost a paraphrasing of Fan Chên.

VII

The net outcome of our inquiry is therefore twofold: (1) that the popular religion of indigenous China, even after some apparent intellectual efforts in systematizing and rationalizing, contains a rather naive and simple conception of the human soul and its survival after death, and it was this Sinitic notion of the soul which was

reinforced and renovated by the new ideas of the Indian religion of Buddhism; and (2) that the important intellectual leaders of China seem to take no positive interest in the problem, and that, whenever they took any interest in it at all, their speculations usually resulted either in agnosticism or in open denial of the soul and its survival.

This leads us to raise two questions: (1) Why were the Chinese thinkers not interested in the problem of the soul and its immortality? (2) Was there in the religious or moral life of the scholarly class anything which may be regarded as having taken the place of the concept of human immortality?

The answer to the first question is that the Chinese intellectual and philosophical tradition has been so predominantly humanistic and rationalistic that the problems of life after death and the gods and spirits simply do not seriously enter the mind of the philosophers. Confucius has set the pattern when he says: "We have not learned to serve man, how can we serve the gods and ghosts? And we do not know life, how can we know death?"

On another occasion, Confucius says: "A gentleman has no fears, nor worries. He searches within himself and is not ashamed. Why should he worry? And what does he fear?" A moral life in this world of man is sufficiently an end in itself. There is no need to worry about the hereafter, or to fear the gods and the ghosts.

Tseng Tzu, one of the great disciples of Confucius, leaves to us this pattern: "The scholar must needs be stout-hearted and perseverant: his burden is heavy, and his journey long. Humanity is the burden he imposes on himself: is that not a heavy burden? Death alone ends his toils: is that not a long journey?" A Chinese gentleman, if he is not too much under the influence of Indianized thought and belief, feels no pain nor regret at the thought that death ends his toils.

Now to the other question: Is there any Chinese concept or belief which, for the educated Chinese, may take the place of the idea of human immortality in other religions?

Yes, there is. The *Tso Chuan* records that in the year 549 B.C.—that is, when Confucius was only a little child of 2 years,—a wise man of his state, Shu-sun Pao, made the remarkable statement that there are three kinds of immortality: the highest is the immortality of virtue or character; the next is the immortality of achievement; the next is the immortality of the spoken or written word. "These," says Shu-sun Pao, "do not perish with the length of time. That is what is called immortality after death." And he gave an example: "In my country, there was a minister by the name of Tsang-sun Ch'en, who is long dead but whose wise words stand to this day." This statement has been one of the best known classical quotations for twenty-five centuries, and has had tremendous influence throughout the ages. It is generally known as "the three immortalities," which I have elsewhere translated as the immortality of "the three W's," that is, the immortality of Worth, Work, and Words.

It is impossible to estimate the extent and depth of the influence and effect of this doctrine. It is in itself the best proof of the truth of the immortality of Words.

In 1508, Wang Shou-jen (d. 1528), the great philosopher, was asked by a student about the truth of the possibility of prolongation of the physical life through

alchemical methods. In his reply, he said: "We of the school of Confucius, too, have our view of immortality. Yen Hui, the favorite disciple of Confucius, for example, died at the age of 32. But he is still living today. Can you believe it?"

As I am writing, my memory carries me back nearly 50 years, back to my first village school in the mountains of Southern Anhwei. Every day, from my high seat, I could see on the north wall a long scroll on which was writ large a copy of part of a famous letter by Yen Chen-ch'ing, statesman and great calligrapher of the eighth century. As I began to learn to read the cursive writings, I recognized that the letter opened with a quotation about the three immortalities of Worth, Work, and Words. Fifty years have passed, but the vivid impression of my first discovery of those immortal words on the immortalities has always remained with me.

This ancient doctrine of the three immortalities has satisfied many a Chinese scholar in the last twenty-five centuries. It has taken the place of the idea of human survival after death. It has given the Chinese gentleman a sense of assurance that, although death doth end his toil, the effect of his individual worth, his work, and his thoughts and words will long remain after he is gone.

And it is not necessary to think that only great worth, great work, and great words can be immortal. It is quite possible and logical for us moderns to reinterpret this ancient conception and democratize or socialize it, so that worth may mean all that we are, work may mean all that we do, and words may mean all that we think and say. This doctrine may acquire a modern and scientific meaning that, in this world, every individual, however humble and lowly and insignificant, leaves something behind him, for good or for evil, for better or for worse. For it is not the good only that survives: it has been well said, "The evil that men do lives after them." This recognition that evil as well as good, folly as well as wisdom, may live on in its effect on others, should give us a graver sense of moral responsibility toward our own action and thought and expression. Everything that we are, everything that we do, and everything that we say, is immortal in the sense that it has its effect somewhere in this world, and that effect in turn will have its effects somewhere else, and the thing goes on in infinite time and space. We do not see all, but everything is there, reaching into the infinite.

In short, the individual may die, just as a cat and a dog may die; but he lives on in a greater self which may be called Society or Humanity, and which is immortal. This greater self lives on as the everlasting monumental testimony of the triumphs and failures of the numberless individual selves. "Humanity is what it is by the wisdom and folly of our fathers, but we shall be judged by what humanity will be when we shall have played our part."[1]

[1] Hu Shih, in a personal credo included in the volume "Living Philosophies," published in New York, 1930.

Chapter 20
Chinese Thought

The history of Chinese thought can be divided into three periods of about 1,000 years each. The ancient period covers the major part of the first millennium B.C. The medieval period covers the first millennium of the Christian era, during which Taoism and Buddhism flourished in China. The modern period of intellectual and philosophical renaissance begins in the tenth century, with extensive printing of books, and continues with the rise of secular Chinese philosophy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The ancient period includes the classical age—the indigenous, original, and creative age of intellectual and philosophical activity. It is the period of Confucius (551–479 B.C.), Lao Tzŭ, and Mo Ti, or Mo Tzŭ; of Mencius, Chuang Tzŭ, and Han Fei (d. *ca.* 233 B.C.). (See chaps. xv, xvii, below.) Philosophers of the classical age are better known to the Western world than those of later periods. The classical age not only set the pattern of Chinese thought of all subsequent ages, but also furnished the inspiration and intellectual tools with which Chinese thinkers of the medieval and modern periods labored for their philosophical and cultural renaissance.

The intellectual heritage of the classical period is threefold. First is its humanism, with special emphasis on man, his life, duties, and relations in this world. Second is its rationalism, or intellectualism. (Since rationalism has something of a theological connotation in the Western world, the term "intellectualism" may be preferable to indicate its special emphasis on knowledge and education.) Third is its spirit of freedom and democracy which champions the supreme importance of the people and advocates the social and political responsibility of the intelligentsia.

The classical age was humanistic in that it consistently and distinctly concerned itself with human life, human conduct, and human society. It scrupulously avoided supernatural and otherworldly problems. When Confucius was asked how to serve

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Chapter Note: Harley F. Mac Nair, ed., China. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946. Chap. xiii, pp. 221–230.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_20, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

the gods and the spirits, he replied, "We have not yet learned to serve men. How can we serve the gods and the spirits?" Asked "What is death?" he answered, "We have not yet learned to know life. How can we know death?" Preoccupation with man and his life in this world is a characteristic which differentiates Chinese thought, at least ancient thought, from that of India, Persia, and Israel.

A useful sourcebook on Indian and Chinese thought has been compiled by Dr. Lin Yutang, bearing the title *The Wisdom of India and China*. It is instructive to compare the section on India with that on China. The former discusses the gods, future life, and the religious life; the latter discusses, in the main, human nature and human problems, man's relation to the family, the state, and the world—education, government, and law. This fundamental difference runs through the history of the intellectual life of the peoples of India and China. Ancient China, which produced a great civilization with highly developed theories of human nature, moral conduct, and political organization, seems to have taken little interest in problems of religion. It was almost primitive in its religious and theological thinking, and spent little time in speculation about life after death. It is the predominant interest in man and his problems that constitutes the first heritage bequeathed by the classical age to China.

The classical age is noted for its strictly intellectualistic approach to the problems of thought. The Chinese are the least mystic of peoples, but among them were thinkers who tended toward mysticism. Lao Tz$_{\underline{u}}$, for example, declares that without going outdoors one can know the world and that without peeping out the window one can know the ways of Heaven. He goes on to say that the farther one goes the less one knows—which would appear to constitute a mystical approach! But, on the whole, the classical tradition of China places most emphasis on knowledge—on empirical and exact knowledge, on learning and thinking.

Confucius laid down the dictum, "Learning without thinking is confusing, but thinking without learning is perilous." This observation is representative of the intellectual tradition of the classical period. One of the later Confucianists expressed the intellectualistic attitude in a fivefold formula: "Study widely, inquire minutely, think carefully, analyze clearly, and then practice earnestly."

It was the intellectualistic approach that led most Chinese scholars to stress the importance of education, of learning, and of thinking. The most influential leader in China's national life during the last twenty-five centuries, the idol of countless millions of Chinese youth, was not a military hero or a messiah, but a schoolmaster—Confucius.[1] He described himself merely as one "who never grew tired of learning, and never grew weary of instructing others." Never to grow tired of learning or of instructing others—that is indeed the ideal of a schoolmaster! Confucius sums up the intellectualistic attitude—the most valuable and characteristic gift inherited by China from the ancient period.

[1] Confucius remained the idol of millions of people even as late as my boyhood days. I remember that before I went to Shanghai for modern schooling I had my own Confucian shrine made from a paper box.

The classical age was one of mental freedom and independence, an age of democratic ideas. It bequeathed to later ages a spirit of freedom of thought and speech, of independence of character, and of the worth and dignity of personality. It was primarily an age of independent and warring nations. Because of the juxtaposition and coexistence of so many states, a thinker persecuted in one state could usually find political asylum and welcome in another. It was also an age in which the scholarly class was making its influence felt on the internal and external policies of the states. Because of these two factors, thought and speech were relatively free and the thinkers of the age were fully conscious of their moral responsibilities. One of the great disciples of Confucius said, "The scholar must needs be stout-hearted and courageous, for his burden is heavy and his journey is long. Humanity is the burden he imposes upon his own shoulders: is that not a heavy burden? And only death ends his toils: is that not a long journey?"[2]

This sense of the grave responsibility of the individual, especially of the educated individual, was shared by most of the social and political thinkers of the classical age. Mencius, whose moral and intellectual influence was second only to that of Confucius, often spoke of "the individual shouldering the heavy burden of the world." The sense of social responsibility of the intelligentsia is a peculiarly Chinese tradition. Every Chinese schoolboy remembers the saying of Ku Yen-wu, a seventeenth-century patriot, "The humble individual, however humble, has a share in the responsibility for the prosperity or the downfall of the empire." He may not realize, however, that this remark goes back to Mencius and to the school of Confucius.

The feeling of responsibility gives to the educated individual a sense of dignity and a spirit of independence. Mencius said: "Who is the great man? The great man is he who cannot be tempted by wealth and honor, who cannot be budged by poverty and lowliness, and who cannot be bent by authority and power. That is the great man."

From the sense of moral responsibility for the well-being or the misfortune of the nation has emerged the classical tradition of the individual's duty to be outspoken and to fight unrighteousness, misrule, and corruption. It has become a tradition for scholars to fight against tyrannical monarchs and corrupt officials in the interests of the state and the people. From this stems China's fight for freedom and democracy through the ages. The democratic tradition has developed primarily from Confucianism, one of the most orthodox schools of thought of the classical age.

In the *Hsiao Ching* (Book of Filial Piety), a tiny classic of doubtful authorship, which for more than 2,000 years was read by every schoolboy as his primer, Confucius is made to say: "In the face of unrighteousness it is the duty of the son to fight it out before his father and it is the duty of a minister to fight it out before his

[2] The conception that a scholar's burden is heavy and his journey long is one of the most important traditions in Chinese intellectual history. I remember my first experience in reading the ninth chapter of St. Matthew, where Jesus, seeing the crowds coming toward him, was moved with compassion upon them and said, "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few." When I first read that passage, tears came to my eyes and I thought of this sentence in the *Analects* of Confucius, "The scholar's burden is heavy and his journey long."

sovereign. Therefore, I say, in the face of unrighteousness, fight it out." And in the *Meng Tzŭ* (Works of Mencius), which was used as a second reader, Mencius taught: "When a ruler treats his subjects like grass and dirt, then it is the right of his subjects to treat him as a bandit and an enemy." (See chap. i, above.) Any ruler violating the principles of benevolence and righteousness is no longer a ruler, but a robber and a murderer whom the people have a duty to overthrow and kill.

These dangerous and revolutionary doctrines are contained in the classical works which have been the required reading of every Chinese student through more than 2,000 years, and which have been used throughout the last ten centuries in the competitive civil service examinations for selection of government officials. Such is the heritage of freedom and independence, social responsibility, and democratic control which has come down through the ages.

The threefold heritage of the classical age has been the bedrock of China's intellectual life. It has given the Chinese the criteria with which to evaluate imported ideas and institutions—and the antitoxin to neutralize the poisonous effects of certain of these. It has served also as the soil to which many kinds of foreign thoughts and institutions have been transplanted and have grown to flowering and fruition.

The classical age ended about 200 B.C., when the country became a united empire. In such an empire it was no longer possible for a thinker persecuted in one part of the country to find asylum in another; nor was it possible for a book banned in one province to be published in another. There was, in consequence, less intellectual freedom and independence. But it is the glory of the Chinese that, in spite of the unified empire and in spite of several thousand years of monarchical rule, there has been maintained a tradition of comparative freedom of thought and scholarship—thought and scholarship that often came into conflict with the established ideas and practices of the great religions of the Middle Ages.

The medieval period lasted approximately from 200 B.C. to A.D. 1000. Chinese thought, in this period, had to cope with two gigantic problems. The first was to build up not a military but a civilian government of continuity and stability which should soften the harshness of absolute rule in a unified empire; the second was to rescue China from the fanaticism brought about by mass conversion to the Indian religion of Buddhism and by the rise of its native, imitative counterpart in Taoism. (See chaps. xvii, xviii, below.) Secular life and civil institutions had to be carried on in the midst of wholesale conversion to otherworldly religions, and the torch of intellectualism had to be kept alight in the midst of a population going mad under the strange attraction of such religions.

It was no easy task to maintain the tradition and authority of civilian government in empires and dynasties often founded or controlled by warriors or by men and women who arose from the lowest strata of society. The intelligentsia, however, steadily accomplished the task by following the classical tradition.

Four instrumentalities were responsible for the continuity and stability of civilian government in the medieval period. First was the founding of a civil service examination system for the selection of government officials. Begun in the year 125 B.C., the examination system became, through the centuries, one of the most important weapons in the struggle of the people for equality of political rights. Confucius had

laid down a democratic educational philosophy in four words: "With education, [there is] no class." This germinal idea was worked out in the civil service examination system, which was competitive, objective, and open to practically everyone of ability. It broke down class distinctions, feudalism, and artificial barriers of race, tribe, religion, and color. Prior to its abolition in 1905 it was China's most effective tool in the fight for political equality.

Second was the founding of a national university in 125 B.C. Opening with only 50 students, it had 10,000 by A.D. 4, and in the second century as many as 30,000 students. With the rise of a national university, numerous private schools were established, some of which had thousands of students. The spread of learning was necessary to supply educated personnel for the civil service.

Third was the development of a codified law which came to be one of the greatest systems in the world. There exist today five completely preserved codes of the last five great dynasties between A.D. 600 and 1900; there are, also, fragments of nine codes antedating the year 600. This body of codified law is one of the most important tools in the development and maintenance of civilian government.

Fourth was the establishment of a canon of Confucianism, not only of standard texts for use in the schools but, more particularly, of sacred scriptures. The Confucian canon gradually acquired authority equivalent to that of basic law in limiting monarchical power and protecting the people against the encroachments of rulers and administrators. An important illustration is the *Mêng Tzŭ*, which contained many democratic and even revolutionary doctrines. This was one of the works used in the examinations for selection of public officials. In 1372, Chu Yüan-chang, founder of the Ming dynasty, who apparently had not read Mencius' book in his boyhood, discovered that it contained dangerous ideas. So he ousted Mencius from the temple of Confucius and later (1394) ordered a third of the book expurgated. But the desired results were not achieved. The *Mêng Tzŭ* continued to be read in its entirety and to be cherished by the nation. The authority of Mencius was greater than that of the Hung-wu emperor (1368–1399).

The second great problem of the medieval period was how to rescue China from religious fanaticism. Buddhism was introduced perhaps in the first century B.C.—or earlier. By the third century of the Christian era it had become popular and powerful. China had become Buddhized and Indianized to a considerable degree. Mass conversions took place, for the native religion was too simple to satisfy the yearnings of many. No heaven, no hell, no future life: Chinese classical thought was too simple! Indian Buddhism offered China not one heaven but 32 heavens, not one hell but 16 or 18 hells! In place of the old idea of retribution of good and evil, India gave China the doctrine of Karma, the iron law of causation, which teaches that moral retribution runs through all existences, past, present, and future. It was a situation which a Chinese proverb describes as "A little witch conquered by a great witch": a simple religion was conquered by a great religion.

For a time it seemed that Chinese rationality and humanism might be submerged by Indian thought and belief. Hundreds of thousands of men and women withdrew from their families to enter the monastic life. Fanaticism swept the country. A zealous monk would burn a finger, an arm, or even his whole body as

a supreme sacrifice to a Buddhist deity. Thousands of the pious, sometimes including members of the imperial court, flocked on occasion to a mountainside to witness and wail at the self-destruction of a great monk by slow burning.

Otherworldliness and inhuman fanaticism finally shocked the people back to their senses, to reason and humanity. Behind governmental persecutions of Buddhism was always the protest of Chinese civilization against the "barbarization" of the country. The imperial edict of the great persecution of 845, for example, said: "The government cannot abandon the human beings of the Middle Kingdom to the following of the life-denying (*wu-sheng*) religion of a foreign country." Humanism revolted against the Indianization of Chinese thought and civilization.

The greatest representative and most articulate leader of the revolt against Buddhism was Han Yü (768–824),[3] who pointed out that the ideal of Chinese thought was that moral and intellectual cultivation of the individual must have a social objective and that this objective was the ordering of the family, society, the state, and the world. Individual cultivation which aims at personal salvation by denying life and fleeing the world is antisocial and un-Chinese. Han Yü's famous battle cry for this revolt was "Man their men!"—that is, restore the monks and nuns to their humane life.

Han Yü's severe criticism of Buddhism, especially his attack on the imperial court's patronage of the Buddhist religion, brought about his exile in 819. However, 20 years after his death his ideas were carried out by the great persecution of Buddhism (845).

But persecution has never succeeded in uprooting a religion which has taken a strong hold on the intelligentsia as well as on the vast majority of the people. It was the thousand years of preservation and slow spread of classical education which finally achieved the task, a few centuries after Han Yü's death.

Paper had been invented *circa* A.D. 105. A living secular literature of prose and poetry arose in the medieval period. Printing with wood blocks came into vogue about A.D. 800. Book printing on a large scale took place in the tenth century. Confucian classics, with standard commentaries, were printed under government patronage. Schools were established in increasing number in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Printing from movable types was invented in the middle of the eleventh century.

A Chinese renaissance was taking place. The middle age was passing away.

In the eleventh century there were two outstanding movements toward political, economic, and educational reform. The first, in the middle of the century, was led by a great Confucian scholar, Fan Chung-yen (989–1052),[4] who is remembered for his saying, "A scholar ought to worry [over the problems of the time] before anyone else begins to worry [about them], and ought to enjoy life only after everybody else has enjoyed life." In this dictum is seen arising a new spirit which harks back to the classical tradition of the Chinese scholar taking upon himself the burden of humanity. How totally different from the otherworldliness of the medieval period!

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[3] Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (London and Shanghai, 1898), No. 632.

[4] *Ibid*., No. 535.

The second reform movement was led by another great statesman, Wang An-shih (1021–1086),[5] who brought about numerous economic, educational, and political reforms. The cry of the age was: Revive the social, political, and educational ideas and institutions of the classical age, and make them sufficiently attractive to the youth and the best minds of the nation. Then, but not until then, the otherworldly, anti-social, and un-Chinese religions of the middle age will surely die a natural death!

Revival of a secular and indigenous philosophical movement opened the third, or modern, period of Chinese thought. It was the age of Chinese philosophical renaissance. In the course of the 900 years of modern Chinese philosophical development there has been a new flowering of the humanism, intellectualism, and spirit of freedom of the classical age.

In the earlier stages of Neo-Confucian, or rational, philosophy (See chap. xvi, below) monastic and moral austerity and much sterile scholastic speculation still survived from the age of medieval religion. On the whole, however, the spirit of intellectual freedom encouraged the development of rival schools of thought, some of which succeeded in breaking away almost completely from medieval influence. Speculation became more methodical and scientific; moral teaching became more humane and reasonable.

In the twelfth century the school of Chu Hsi (1130–1200)[6] laid special emphasis on the intellectualistic approach to knowledge. The slogans of this school were: "Go to the things and investigate into the reasons thereof." "From your own body to the reason-of-being of Heaven and Earth, everything is an object of investigation." "Every grass and every shrub must be studied." "Investigate one thing at a time. Understand one thing today, another tomorrow. When you accumulate sufficient knowledge, you will some day understand the whole."

This strictly intellectualistic spirit and methodology gradually brought about a new rationalism in Chinese thought. Lacking, however, the tradition and technique of experimenting with objects of nature, this scientific ideal did not produce a natural science. (See chap. ii, note 7, above.) But its spirit came gradually to be felt in historical and philological studies. It has, in the last 300 years, produced a scientific methodology in the study of classical and historical literature. It has developed textual criticism, higher criticism, and a philological approach to ancient texts. Scholars who were seeking to overthrow traditional commentaries now perfected a tool in the form of a methodology by which they were in a position to sweep aside subjective interpretation and traditional authority, with the strength of philological evidence and inductive reasoning. The old rationalism became scientific and the spirit of intellectual freedom found a powerful weapon.

This brief summary of the foundations of Chinese thought may be concluded with two anecdotes. Wu Ching-heng, China's oldest living philosopher, was presented in his teens to the master of the famous Nan Tsing Academy at Kiangyin.

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[5] *Ibid*., No. 2134; see also H. R. Williamson, *Wang An Shih* (London, 1935–1937), in 2 vols.

[6] Giles, *op. cit*., No. 446.

When he entered, he saw a wall scroll with eight characters written in the large, bold writing of the master himself. The inscription read, "Seek the truth and do not compromise."

In looking over my father's unpublished writings some years ago, I found volumes of notes made when he was a student at the Lung Men Academy in Shanghai, about 1875. These were written on notebooks printed by the Academy for the use of its students. On the top of every page was printed in red a motto reading, in part: "The student must first learn to approach the subject in a spirit of doubt. … The philosopher Chang Tsai [A.D. 1020–1077] used to say: 'If you can doubt at points where other people feel no impulse to doubt, then you are making progress.'"

Approach every subject in the spirit of doubt; seek the truth; do not compromise. That has been the spirit of those Chinese thinkers who have kept the torch of intellectual freedom burning throughout the ages. That is the spirit which has made Chinese thinkers feel at home in this new world of science, technology, and democracy.

Chapter 21
The Natural Law in the Chinese Tradition

Papers read at the fifth convocation (1951) of the Natural Law Institute.

I

The subject for our present inquiry is,—Did China in her long history develop any moral or juridical concept or concepts which may be compared with what has been known as "Natural Law" or "the Law of Nature" in the European, and particularly the Anglo-Saxon juristic and constitutional tradition?

I consider this as a very difficult assignment to be undertaken by one who knows little about law in general and "natural law" in particular. I have to ask myself these two preliminary questions: first, what is Natural Law? What do I understand to be the essential attributes of Natural Law? And secondly, what shall be the method of our comparative study of the conception of Natural Law in the Eastern and Western countries? Can I draw some historical lesson from the evolution of the concept of Natural Law in the West and then test it by applying it to the study of any counterpart concept in the East?

Without an opportunity to consult my distinguished colleagues of the Natural Law Institute, I venture to suggest, for my own guidance at least, that the conception of Natural Law as it has been developed in Europe and in the Anglo-Saxon world, seems to imply these four meanings:

1. Natural law is law or principles of justice readily discernible to human reason. It is, says Aristotle, "that which all men, by a natural intuition, feel to be common right and wrong, even if they have no common association and no covenant with one another."

Chapter Note: Edward F. Barrett, ed., Natural Law Institute Proceedings. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1953. Vol. 5. pp. 119–153.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_21, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

2. Natural law is divine law, the law of God. In the *Decretum* of Gratian, Natural Law is identified with the Golden Rule. "The Law of Nature," said Coke, "is that which God, at the time of creation of the nature of man, infused into his heart for his preservation and direction and this is the eternal law, the moral law, called also the Law of Nature."
3. Natural law is fundamental law,—more fundamental than, and superior to, all man-made law. The Law of Nature, said Blackstone, "being coeval with mankind and dictated by God Himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this."
4. Natural law has always been regarded as the highest authority to which critics and reformers of law and government and revolutionaries against misrule make appeal for moral and spiritual support. Thus, the American *Declaration of Independence* made appeal to the "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God."

What was the historical lesson I have learned from the story of the evolution of the conception of Natural Law in the Western world? I have studied all the published lectures of the Institute, and I am particularly interested in the papers by Dean Manion, Professor Ernst Levy, Mr. Richard O'Sullivan, and Professor Edward S. Corwin. The moral I read in the three historical papers by Manion, O'Sullivan and Corwin seems to be this: That the greatest and most important role which the concept of Natural Law has played in history has been the role of a supreme fundamental law which (in the words of Professor Corwin), "may be appealed to by human beings against injustices sanctioned by human authority."

This historical role is most explicit in the development of the common law tradition and of the Constitutional Law in the Anglo-Saxon world. Speaking of the great constitutional principle of Henry de Bracton—"The King is under God and the Law,"—Mr. O'Sullivan says:

> With this principle, which is implicit in Magna Carta, Sir Edward Coke will meet the claim of the first Stuart King to rule by divine right. With these words, the President of a scarcely constitutional tribunal will condemn a second Stuart King to death. With these words, another Stuart King will be admonished in the hour of the Restoration.

And speaking of Coke's dictum of "common right and reason," Professor Corwin says:

> Just as Coke had forged his celebrated dictum as a possible weapon for the struggle which he already foresaw, against the divine right claims of James I, so its definitive reception in this country (the Colonies in America) was motivated by the rising agitation against the Mother Country.

As Professor Ernst Levy points out in his paper on "Natural Law in the Roman Period," the great moments of the Natural Law occur only "when mankind in general or some country in particular faces a cataclysm threatening to destroy or distort the fundamental liberties," and responsible men, "confronted with the complete inadequacy of their usual resources," turn and appeal to "that higher law which holds out the promise of ensuring their basic individual rights against the encroachments of tyrannical powers."

In short, the most significant historical role of the concepts of Natural Law and Natural Rights has been that of a fighting weapon in Man's struggle against the tyranny of unlimited power and authority. I believe it may be a useful and fruitful procedure in my present comparative study to try to test and verify the validity or universality of this historical lesson or thesis. I shall not, therefore, be contented by merely seeking to establish that a certain Chinese idea seems to possess some of the meanings of the Western concepts of Natural Law. I shall try to find out whether it could be understood in its historical context: whether it has served as the rational criterion or ground for judging and criticizing the laws and government or social institutions of its time; and whether it has been set up as an ideal and appealed to as the supreme authority in the nation's fight against the injustices of human laws and institutions sanctioned by the unlimited powers of political authority.

II

All social and political thinking usually begins as a criticism of existing government, laws and institutions which have become unsatisfactory, harmful or oppressive. In passing adverse judgment on time-honored institutions sanctioned by the political authority of the state and in proposing new and possibly radical theories or measures of reform, it has always been necessary for critics and reformers to appeal to some authority higher and more trustworthy than the highest political or ecclesiastical authority of the time.

This is true at least of the long history of Chinese social and political thought, in which the student can discern a number of superficially different but essentially similar patterns in an endeavor to appeal to a higher law or a higher authority.

In the Chinese tradition, this appeal to a higher authority has taken these main forms. (1) Sometimes it takes the form of appealing to the authority of an imagined and quite freely idealized antiquity,—the Golden Age of the ancient sage-rulers. (2) Sometimes it takes the form of appealing to the Will of God (*t'ien-chih or t'ien-i*) as the highest norm or law. (3) Sometimes the appeal is made to the Way (*tao*) of Heaven or Nature, which is the Law of Nature. (4) Sometimes, especially under the long, long centuries of the vast unified empire, the appeal is made to the authority of the Canon (*ching*, meaning the invariable, immutable way) of the Sacred Scriptures of Confucianism as the highest authority on all matters of moral and political justice. (5) And sometimes the appeal is made to Reason or Law or Universal Reason or Natural Law (*li, or tao-li, or t'ien-li*) as it is intuitively evident in the moral conscience of men,—what may be termed in the words of Coke "the common right and reason" of man.

All these bear some essential resemblance to the historical appeals in the Western world to Natural Law and Natural Right. Even the first of these patterns, namely, the idealization of remote antiquity as the Golden Age, is not so strange or so unreasonable when one recalls the numerous "utopias" designed by the social and political thinkers of the West, and especially when one recalls that the doctrine of Natural

Rights was originally conceived as rights of men "in the state of nature" before they entered into the Social Compact or Social Contract. The Chinese thinkers, notably the Confucianists, who read their ideal social and political order into the remote reigns of sage-rulers, were merely inventing their "utopias" and populating them with supposedly historical personages, such as Yao, Shun and Yü, whom traditional chronology placed in the third millenium B.C.

When Confucius said: "If there was any ruler who did nothing (*wu-wei*), yet governed well,—was it not Shun? For what in effect did Shun do? Religiously self-disciplined, he sat reverently on the throne, and that was all,"—he was eulogizing the political ideal of non-interference or *laissez-faire* (which, as we shall soon see, had been taught by his teacher Lao-tze) and making it more real by projecting it into the ancient reign of Shun, of whom we know as little as of the state of nature of Locke or of Rousseau. And when Mencius and the other political philosophers of ancient China vividly and sometimes dramatically described how the great sage-ruler Yao handed down the throne and the empire, not to his own son, but to Shun, the wisest man of the age and the choice of the people; and how Shun, in his turn, handed down the throne and the empire, again not to his own son, but to the great Yü who had controlled the Great Flood and was the choice of the people,—they were not deliberately fabricating history, but were merely using their utopian ideals to voice their own criticism of the evils of the hereditary monarchy and were covertly advocating a new and radical system of selection of the worthiest men to be rulers.

After this brief explanation of what may seem to have been a peculiarly Chinese appeal to the authority of the utopian antiquity, I propose to take up in greater detail four concepts in Chinese thought which in my humble opinion have played a historical role not unlike that of the Natural Law concepts of the Western world. They are:

1. The concept of the way (*tao*) of Heaven or Nature as taught by Lao-tze.
2. The concept of the Will of God (*t'ien-chih*) as taught by Mo Ti.
3. The concept of the Sacred Canon (*ching*) as developed in medieval China.
4. The concept of Reason or Law (*li*) or Universal Reason or Law (*t'ien-li or tao-li*),—Natural Law in the sense of "common right and reason,"—as developed in relatively modern times.

III

The first Chinese concept to be studied is that of *tao* or *t'ien-tao* as it was taught by Lao-tze. *Tao* means the road, the way, the law of action or movement. *T'ien* is God or Heaven or Nature. *Tao* or t'ien-tao may be translated the "way of Heaven," the "way of Nature," or the "law of Nature."

Lao-tze, the senior contemporary and teacher of Confucius, lived in the sixth century B.C. His age was one of frequent wars among the many rival states. A few great Powers were rising and developing a number of centers of population, commerce

and civilization. Taxation was heavy, labor and service were conscripted, and government was mostly autocratic and oppressive. Here is what Lao-tze himself said about the conditions of his own time:

> There are more and more restrictions and prohibitions, but the people are becoming poorer. The people are using more cunning implements, but the states are in worse troubles. More and more laws and ordinances are being promulgated, but there are more thieves and robbers than ever.
>
> The people starve because those above them eat too much tax-grain. The people are difficult to keep in order, because those above them interfere. The people are risking death [to commit crime] because they want very much to live.
>
> The people are not frightened of death. What then is the use of trying to intimidate them with death-penalty?

Against this age of war, disorder and restrictions, Lao-tze postulated the concept of "the Way" (*tao*) or "the Way of Heaven," as the fundamental principle of individual conduct, political action and civilization in general. The words were old words, but he had given them an entirely new meaning. "The Way," says Lao-tze, "does nothing (*wu-wei*), and yet there is nothing that remains undone." "The Way of Heaven strives not, but it is sure to conquer. It speaks not, but it is sure to respond. It beckons not, but things will come to it of themselves. The net of Heaven is vast, very vast: it is wide-meshed, but it loses nothing."

This basic conception of the Way of Heaven as non-action, as do-nothing was applied to many aspects of life and activity. In Ethics, it developed the doctrine of non-striving, of non-resisting, of water as the example of the highest virtue because water benefits all things and resists none,—a doctrine not unlike the Christian doctrine of non-resistance to evil. In his opposition to the artificiality and over-refinement of civilization, Lao-tze anticipated Rousseau and Tolstoy by more than twenty-three centuries.

This concept was fully developed as a theory of government by non-interference and non-assertion,—by *laissez-faire*. Says Lao-tze: "I do nothing, and the people will be transformed of themselves. I love quietude, and the people will of themselves go straight. I do not interfere, and the people will of themselves become prosperous." "The best kind of government is one whose existence is not noticed by the people," which is a more forceful way of saying that that government is best which governs least.

So, 2,500 years ago Lao-tze was preaching in ancient China a political philosophy or non-interference and non-assertion based on his conception of the Way or the Law of Nature, a philosophy which bears striking resemblance to the *laissez-faire* philosophy of eighteenth century Europe and America, and to the Natural Law philosophy of Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner late in the nineteenth century. Behind it all there was a deep distrust of the blundering clumsiness in human interference as contrasted to what was idealized as the unerring efficacy of the Way of Heaven or the Law of Nature. Thus says Lao-tze: "There is always the Great Executioner who does the executing. Now to attempt to do the Great Executioner's executing for him is like offering oneself to do the master-carpenter's chipping for him. He who offers to do the master-carpenter's chipping for him rarely escapes the fate of cutting his hand."

This appeal to the concept of the Way of Heaven as non-action which yet achieves everything, must have sounded timely and convincing twenty-five centuries ago. Confucius more than once referred favorably to the idea of "*wu-wei*" (do nothing) in his conversations with his students. In the course of the next three centuries, the concept of *wu-wei* as the Way or the Law of Nature was accepted by most of the political and juridical thinkers. In the third century B.C., when the wave of military conquest and authoritarian control by the militant state of Ch'in was threatening to sweep over all the States in the East, those philosophers and intellectuals taking shelter on the southeastern coast of Ch'i (modern eastern Shantung) made a desperate effort to develop the philosophy of non-action in all its possible implications. It was probably this group of refugee intellectuals that had tried to invent the legendary person of Huang-ti (the Yellow Emperor) and make him father of a large number of "taoistic" work of all kinds. That is why the "taoist" school of the philosophy of *wu-wei* was also known as "the school of Huang-ti and Lao-tze."

Out of the refugee philosophers on the eastern coast, came the philosopher Kai Kung who in the early years of the Han Empire, succeeded in converting the great general Ts'ao Ts'an to the political thinking of the *wu-wei* school. Ts'ao Ts'an tried it in his administration of the eastern coastal area of Ch'i and found it eminently successful. When Ts'ao was called in 193 B.C. to become the Prime Minister of the Han Empire, he was able to put this philosophy into practice on a national scale. Historians tell us that the deliberate experimentation with the political philosophy of non-interference by Ts'ao Ts'an and later by the wise Emperor Wen-ti (179–157 B.C.) and his wife, the Empress Tou (in power from 179 to 135 B.C.) brought prosperity to the people and wealth to the national treasury and succeeded in giving the nation a chance to recuperate from the long years of war and revolution and to learn to appreciate the real benefits of a vast unified empire with no tariff walls, with no standing army, and with little interference from the authorities of the government.

IV

The conception of the Way of Heaven or Nature as taught by Lao-tze and accepted by Confucius was too naturalistic and too radical to please the vast majority of the people who were followers of the traditional Sinitic religion, which in its broadest terms comprised the worship of ancestors, of spirits and gods, a belief in retribution of good and evil, and a vague notion of a Supreme Being still known as Heaven (*t'ien*) but undoubtedly regarded as all-knowing and all-powerful, and as the highest of all the gods.

The learned professional masters of religious rites and rituals generically known as the Ju (of which profession both Lao-tze and Confucius were the most outstanding leaders), while still busily practicing their traditional profession and presiding or assisting at funerals, burials and sacrifices, had already been intellectually breaking away from many of the fundamental beliefs of the popular religion.

When asked by a student how to serve the gods and the spirits, Confucius answered: "We have not yet learned how to serve men, how can we serve the gods?" The same inquirer went on to ask about death. Confucius said: "We know not what life is, how can we know what death is?" And on a different occasion, he told the same questioning disciple: "Shall I tell you what knowledge is? To say you know when you do know, and to say you do not know when you do not know; that is knowledge."

From this agnostic position, it was probably an easy step to a frank denial of the existence of the spirits and the gods. And it was recorded that at least some followers of Confucius in the fifth century B.C. openly declared that there were no gods and spirits.

It was in that age of rising naturalism and skepticism that there arose a great religious leader to champion the cause of the religion of the people, and to preach a greatly revitalized theistic religion. This leader was Mo Ti, who lived from about 500 B.C. to about 420 B.C. He severely criticized the Ju for their atheism, for their expensive and extravagant but insincere ritualism in mourning, burial and sacrifices, and for their naturalism as expressed in their fatalistic determinism. Against all this, Mo taught a vital and vigorous religion of an all-loving God, a religion which preached "love for all men without distinction" and which condemned all wars.

Mo Ti declared that the Will of God (*t'ien-chih*) should be the criterion of all judgment of right and wrong, the standard of all measures, the highest norm and law. He said: "The Will of God is to me what the compasses and the carpenter's square are to the artisan. The artisan measures all circles by his compasses which are the standard form of the circle. And he measures all squares by the carpenter's square which is the standard form of the square. Now I have the Will of God, I shall use it to measure and judge the laws, penalties, and governments of the kings, princes, and grand officers of all states in the world; and I shall use it to measure and judge the words and acts of all the people. Whatever is in accordance with the Will of God is right; whatever is opposed to it is wrong."

Now, what is the Will of God? Mo Ti repeatedly said: "The Will of God is to love all the people in the world without distinction, and to benefit all the people in the world without distinction. How do I know that the Will of God is to love all people without distinction? Because God fathers all people without distinction and feeds all people without distinction."

To show the moral vigor and the logical consistency of Mo Ti, who was undoubtedly the greatest religious leader that China has ever had, I cite here a part of the first of his three chapters on "Condemnation of War":

> … Killing one man constitutes one crime punishable by death. Applying this principle, the killing of ten men makes the crime ten times greater and ten times as punishable. And the killing of one hundred men increases the crime a hundred-fold and makes it a hundred times as punishable.
>
> All these are condemned by the gentlemen of the world as wrong.
>
> But when these gentlemen come to judge the greatest of all wrongs—the invasion of one state by another—(which is a hundred thousand times more criminal than the killing of one man), they no longer condemn it. On the contrary, they praise it and pronounce it to be 'right.' Indeed, they know not that it is wrong…

> Here is a man who sees a few black objects and calls them black, but who, after seeing many black things, calls them white. We must say that this man does not know the distinction between black and white…
>
> Here are the gentlemen of the world who condemn a small wrong but praise the greatest of wrongs—the attack of one country on another—and call it 'right.' Can we say that they know the distinction between right and wrong?

This strong opposition to war was not merely preached in words, but actually undertaken by Mo Ti and his followers as a course of practical conduct and policy. They would travel far to persuade states to abandon wars and would sometimes volunteer to help weak states to defend themselves against attack.

The religion of Mo or Moism (the only Chinese religion that bore the name of its founder)—the religion which followed the Will of God, condemned all wars, and practiced the love for all men without distinction—had a great following for more than two centuries. Then it seems to have died out toward the end of the third century B.C. One of the main causes of its decline and final disappearance was that its doctrine of universal love and anti-militarism was incompatible with the age, which was an age of great wars and conquests resulting ultimately in the military unification of China by the State of Ch'in in 221 B.C.

But the spirit of the Mo religion—notably its theism and its inspiring doctrine of love for all men without distinction (*chien-ai*) as the Will of God, as the highest law,—seems to have lived on and become no mean part of the content of the State Religion of Confucianism of the Han Empire.

V

Another Chinese concept I propose to take up is that of the supreme authority of the Canon (*ching*) or Canonical Scripture of Confucianism. The underlying idea was to establish a body of sacred scripture that could be revered and appealed to as the basic law of the land with supreme authority above the absolute monarch and his laws and government.

China became a unified empire in 221 B.C. The first empire which brought about the unification by military conquest, lasted only 15 years (221–206 B.C.). Its authoritarian regime which burned books and prohibited private teaching, was overthrown by a revolution. The second empire—the Han Empire—lasted over 400 years (200 B.C. to 220 A.D.).

The political thinkers of the age, especially of the second century B.C., were faced with a dual problem: the consolidation of the government of the empire to insure peace and stability, and, at the same time, the safeguarding of the nation against the dangers of the unlimited power of the hereditary monarchy in a vast unified empire within which there was no longer any asylum for rebels and political refugees. "Between heaven and earth, there is no escape from the tie of the subject to the ruler." The difficult problem was how to check the powers of the unlimited monarchy. It was like "begging the tiger to give you his skin." But the Chinese philosophers wanted to make an earnest try at it.

It must be admitted that the Chinese statesmen-philosophers had a fair measure of success in the attempt to establish the *ching*, the Canon of the state religion of Confucianism, as a source of moral and legal authority higher than the highest political authority in the land.

The Canon originally consisted of five major works:

1. The *Book of Changes.*
2. The *Book of Songs.*
3. The *Book of History.*
4. The *Book of I Li* (a collection of 17 books of ancient ceremonies).
5. The *Ch'un Ch'iu Annals* (chronological record of events from 722 to 481 B.C. supposedly written by Confucius himself).

Each of these formed the subject of specialized study by a Doctor or Professor in the National University which began to have 50 students in 124 B.C. and grew to 10,000 students in the early years of the Christian era and to 30,000 students in the second century A.D. A number of minor works of the Canon such as the *Analects* of Confucius, the *Book of Mencius*, and the *Hsiao Ching* (the *Canon of Filial Piety*), because of their linguistic simplicity, were required to be read as primary texts in the learning of the classical literature.

The term *ching* means "the constant," "the invariable standard," the "immutable law." A classical scholar of the fifth century A.D. said: "The times may change, dynasties may come and go, and metal and rock may decay and perish, but the Canon (*ching*) will always remain as the unchanging rule and as the immutable law for a hundred generations to come."

The authority of the Confucianist Canon was gradually established not only because these books were read and studied by the thousands in the University and at the private schools, but also because it was strongly supported by the theology and philosophy of the state religion of Confucianism. One of the most important founders of this religion was the philosopher Tung Chung-shu (200?–123? B.C.) who built up a strange but powerful theology of Heavenly warnings on the basis of the *Ch'un Ch'iu Annals*. Among the recorded events in that chronological work, there were numerous entries of floods, great fires, famine, pestilence, eclipses of the sun and other disastrous and unusual occurences. These were interpreted as meaningful records of "Warnings from Heaven" to the rulers on earth. Such heavenly warnings were of two categories: the Catastrophes (*tsai*) and the Anomalies (*i*). A famine or a great fire is a catastrophe, but an eclipse of the sun is an anomaly which is a more serious warning than a catastrophe.

Tung Chung-shu sums up the central idea of this theology in one sentence: "The action of man, when it reaches the highest level of good and evil (that is, when it becomes governmental action affecting the welfare of vast numbers of men), will flow into the universal course of Heaven and Earth and cause reciprocal reverberations in their manifestations."

Tung Chung-shu taught that it is the Will of God (*t'ien-i*) to love and benefit all the people. It is the duty of the ruler to obey and carry out the Will of God. When the rulers fail to do their duty, they are warned by God through the catastrophes

and abnormalities. “When a state is set on its ruinous course, Heaven will cause catastrophes to befall it as warnings to the ruler. When these warnings are not heeded, then Heaven will cause strange anomalies to appear to terrify the ruler into repentance. But when even these more serious warnings fail to check his evil acts, then ruin will come.” From this,—so Tung Chung-shu told the emperor Wu-ti, “we can see that Heaven is always kind to the ruler and anxious to protect him from destruction. Heaven will always try to protect him and lead him back to the right way if he is not beyond correction. All depends upon one’s determination and earnest endeavor.”

These courageous words were written as an answer to questions which the young emperor Wu-ti (140–87 B.C.) had put to the several famous Confucian scholars whom the provinces had recommended to the Court. Tung Chung-shu spoke like a prophet and with authority. On the basis of these words there was built up a highly complicated and terrifying theology of Han Confucianism, which is in reality Confucianism as it was interpreted by Tung and other theologians of the second and first centuries B.C.

This theology was centered on the *Ch’un Ch’iu Annals*, the only work in the major Canon which was supposed to have been written by Confucius himself, the other four being all pre-Confucian and belonging to the “Old Testament” part of Confucianism. According to Tung Chung-shu and other eminent authorities of the age, the Ch’un Ch’iu Annals were written by Confucius *as laws for the future Han Dynasty*! The great sage (who was conceived by the Han theologians and by the people in general as having been endowed with divinity and prophetic powers) was said to have actually “legislated for the great Han Dynasty.”

One of the important works written by Tung Chung-shu was entitled “Judicial Precedents from the *Ch’un Ch’iu*” in which he listed 232 events recorded in that Canonical work and interpreted their juridical meaning for the guidance of future legal decisions. That work (which has been lost and is only fragmentally preserved through a number of quotations cited in medieval law books) had great influence in the development of medieval law and jurisprudence.

This theistic religion of Han Confucianism with its vividly personal and theological conception of Heaven and God and with its terrifying theology of Catastrophes and Anomalies, became in the first century B.C. the established religion of the Empire. It became the duty of the Doctors of the University and of the ranking ministers of state to interpret every new catastrophe or anomaly as it occurred, and to censure the government for any particular act of misrule which, according to their interpretation, had brought about the Heavenly warning. Such interpretations often differed with the different interpreters. So every flood, or great fire, or earthquake, or eclipse of the sun, became a lively and free-for-all occasion for frank criticism and censure of the government, the Emperor or the Prime Minister. And at least on a number of historic occasions, such frank criticism based on Heavenly warnings did bring about redresses of legal or political injustices or reforms in government policy.

It is beyond doubt that throughout medieval China and down to fairly recent centuries, the Canon of Sacred Scripture of Confucianism, including the *Analects* of

Confucius, the *Book of Mencius* and the *Canon of Filial Piety*, was revered and regarded as the highest authority in all matters of morals, law, social relations and government policy. It had the authority of Divine Law, an authority comparable to that of the Bible in the Christian countries.

The Confucianist Canon acquired this authority not merely because of the establishment of Confucianism as a state religion, nor merely because it was required reading in all Chinese schools and used in all civil service examinations for the selection of men for public offices, but primarily because some of the books included in the Canon in its broader sense do contain some of the universal principles of justice which, in the words of Aristotle, "all men, by a natural intuition, feel to be common right and wrong." For instance, in the *Analects*, Confucius twice laid down the negative (therefore logically, the universal) form of the Golden Rule: "What you do not want to have done to you, do not do to others." And the *Book of History* has contributed to Chinese jurisprudence a number of universal maxims such as "When in doubt, give the lighter sentence"; "Rather miss a guilty one than condemn an innocent one"; "Heaven sees through what my people see, and Heaven hears through what my people hear."

A few historical events may help us to understand this supreme authority as universal natural law of common right and wrong which the Confucian Canon achieved in historic China throughout the ages.

In the year 74 B.C. there occurred an unprecedented event of the impeachment and dethronement of a young emperor who had been on the throne only 27 days. Ho Kuang, the Prime Minister of the Empire, called a meeting of the Council of Ministers, Generals, Peers, Grand Officers, Doctors of the University, and Councillors of the court to discuss the disorderly conduct of the young sovereign and decide what should be done. The meeting decided upon a Petition of Impeachment against the emperor. The Empress Dowager was requested to hear the petition in the presence of the young emperor. The Empress Dowager, after hearing the Petition signed by all members of the Council, decreed that the emperor be forthwith dismissed from the throne.

There was no legal provision or precedent for this. The historical precedent privately cited to the Prime Minister by his friend and adviser was the dethronement of King T'ai Chia by his chief minister I Yin, which allegedly took place about 1753 B.C. and was recorded in such Canonical works as the *Book of History* and the *Book of Mencius*. And the main argument in the Petition of Impeachment was that the young sovereign had violated his filial duties as the adopted heir of the recently deceased emperor. As authority for the charges, the Petition cited two works of the Canon: the Kung-yang Commentary of the *Ch'un Ch'iu Annals* and the *Canon of Filial Piety*.

And as the young emperor was being led away from the throne, he turned to the powerful Prime Minister and quoted to him these words of Confucius: "If the Son of Heaven has seven out-spoken ministers, he, though guilty of misrule, will not lose his empire." That quotation, too, is from the *Canon of Filial Piety*.

In the year 9 A.D., the reformer Emperor Wang Mang issued his most famous edict proclaiming the emancipation of all male and female slaves in the empire and the nationalization of all land. His arguments for both policies were based on

moral and political principles contained in the Canonical books. For example, he condemned the institution of slavery and the sale and buying of slaves in the same market with horses and cows as "opposed to the Will of Heaven, and in violation of the principle 'Of all that are born of Heaven and Earth, Man is of the highest worth.'" That quotation is also from that little classic, the *Canon of Filial Piety*.

I shall cite one more historical event to show how firmly established was the authority of the Confucianist Canon over and above the arbitrary power of rulers and governments. This event involved the *Book of Mencius*, one of the most popular works in the Canon.

Mencius (372–289 B.C.) was a radical and democratic thinker who wrote in a most brilliant and most forceful prose style which makes his book the most indispensable and enjoyable reading to all students of classical literature. But his political views were often found to be disquieting and disturbing to some people. He has taught for instance, that "in a state, the people are of first importance, the shrines of the state gods (symbols of the state itself) come next, but the ruler is least important." He has taught us that "when a prince treats his subjects like dirt and grass, then the people will naturally regard him as a bandit and as an enemy." And he has, in plain language, justified the right of the people to rebel against a despotic ruler and even to kill him, for he who violates the principles of benevolence and justice, is no longer a ruler, but a nobody to whom no one owes allegiance.

In the last decades of the fourteenth century, Emperor Hung-wu (1368–1398), the founder of the Ming Dynasty, who was one of the most tyrannical rulers in Chinese history, found the *Book of Mencius* to be too dangerous to be read by everybody in the schools. So he decreed that Mencius' tablet should be removed from the Temple of Confucius where he had occupied a place second only to Confucius himself; and that the *Book of Mencius* should be thoroughly expurgated. Mencius was duly expelled. The Emperor appointed a trusted scholar to prepare an expurgated edition of the *Book of Mencius*. About a third of the book was stricken out and an Imperial Edition was published under the title Mencius Expurgated (*Meng-tzu chieh-wen*).

But a few years later, the Emperor, probably troubled by his own conscience, ordered that Mencius be restored to the Temple of Confucius to be worshipped as before. And his *Mencius Expurgated* was ignored by the people who continued to read *Mencius in toto* throughout the 270-odd years of the Ming Dynasty. There is only one copy of the Imperial expurgated edition left in the world,—it is in the National Library of Peiping.

This is the story of the concept of the Sacred Canon of Confucianism as "the invariable rule," "the immutable law," in all matters of morals, law and government. It is true that neither the Canon, nor the state religion founded on it, succeeded very far in limiting the unlimited monarchy. Nevertheless the Confucian Canon did succeed in serving as a body of "Divine Law" or Sacred Law, as Natural Law in the sense of its many universal principles or morality and justice, and as Natural Law in the sense of the supreme fundamental law to which social and political critics and reformers constantly appealed for support and justification, and which even the most unscrupulous despot never quite dared to challenge.

VI

There are two Chinese words which, though different in written form, have the same modern pronunciation of li, and which have often been translated as "natural law" or regarded as equivalent to or comparable to the idea of natural law in the Western world. Professor Joseph Needham of Cambridge University has tried to differentiate the two words by transcribing them as *li*[a] and *li* [b]. I shall distinguish them by using their older pronunciation as preserved in the Cantonese dialect, thus:

the first *li* (*li*[a]) becomes *lai*, and
the second *li* (*li*[b]) becomes *lei*.

The first *li* (*lai*) I shall discuss briefly; the second *li* (*lei*) I shall treat in some detail.

The word *lai* originally means a religious sacrifice, and has come to mean ceremony, ritual, good customs, and rules of propriety. The body of such customs and rules of propriety generally covered by the name *lai* is very large and includes rules or principles of family relations, clan relations, social relations, religious worship in its various aspects such as ancestor-worship, funeral, burial and mourning.

The concept of *lai* has often been regarded by Western observers as comparable to that of Natural Law in the West. Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale University, for example, says,

> Originally quite possibly employed to designate the manners and customs of the aristocracy, in the course of the centuries *li* [*lai*] came to be regarded as binding on all civilized mankind. It was conceived of as conforming to the will of Heaven and akin to, although not identical with, the concept of natural law which was present in the Graeco-Roman world and has been transmitted to the modern Occident.

Professor Joseph Needham says:

> The body of ancient customs, usage, and ceremonial, which included all those practices, such as filial piety, which unnumbered generations of the Chinese people had instinctively felt to be right—this was *li* [*lai*], and we may equate it with natural law.

Personally I am not inclined to accept these views which more or less "equate" the Chinese concept of *lai* with natural law. Much of what has come down to us as ancient *lai* is so extravagantly elaborate that is very difficult for us to believe that it was actually practiced at any time, even by the most leisurely classes. It was most probably worked out by a professional priesthood—the Ju, the priesthood of the conquered people of Yin or Shang, the professional teachers and masters of the rituals of funeral, burial, mourning and sacrifice which, five or six centuries after the conquest of the Yin people by the Chou, were already exerting some considerable influence on the ruling classes of the States of Chou origin ruling over a population in which the Yin people formed an ethnographic majority. Thus we find in the most authentic Confucian and post-Confucian records many instances of the Ju serving as masters of ceremony at the funerals of nobles and officials of such States as Lu and Wei, both of which were ruled by direct descendants of the founding Kings of Chou. The religion and culture of the conquered people of Yin were beginning to conquer their conquerors. The conquest took many long centuries to complete and

it was greatly accelerated by the remarkable leadership of Confucius, who was always conscious of his royal lineage from the Kings of Yin.

Much of the ancient *lai* as most fully represented in the 17 books of the *I Li*, was frankly labeled as "*lai of the shih classes*." The *shih*, the sword-carrying class of gentlemen, formed the middle or upper-middle class in the various States. It is inconceivable that the elaborate and extravagant rituals prescribed in that Canonical work could have been carried out by that class or any other class. Therefore it is incorrect historically to say that the *lai* represented that which "unnumbered generations of the Chinese people had instinctively felt to be right." No man could instinctively feel such labored extravagance to be right.

Let us take as an example the practice of 3-year period of mourning for one's dead parent. Although Confucius spoke of it as "the general practice of all the people in the world," it was openly opposed by one of his own disciples. When two centuries later Mencius persuaded the young Duke of T'eng to practice it, it was strongly opposed by all the nobles and officials of the Duke's Court, who said: "Our past rulers never practiced it. Nor did the rulers of the State of Lu [which was the home State of Confucius]." And it was vehemently attacked by Mo Ti and his followers. It was not practiced by the Court and the officials of the Han Empire from the reign of Wen Ti (179–157 B.C.) to 116 A.D. It was the cumulative political influence of the established State religion of Confucianism that made the Court and the people gradually adopt the custom of 3-year mourning. There is very little naturalness, or instinctiveness, or universality in this practice, which has made mourning expensive, wasteful and insincere.

But I want to add that the *lai* is an important part of the Canon (*ching*) of Confucianist Scriptures. The *lai* group of the later enlarged Canon includes the *I Li*; the 46 books of the *Li Chi* collected in the first century B.C.; and an ambitious utopian "constitution" entitled the *Chou Li* which was supposed to represent the organization of the Chou empire as it was worked out by the Duke of Chou of the eleventh century B.C. The historical role of *lai* as a higher law and higher authority to which appeal was made from time to time in the interest of economic, juridical and, political reforms,—such as the reforms of Wang Mang of the first century A.D. and Wang An-shih of the eleventh century A.D.—is therefore an integral part of the story of the establishment of the supreme authority of the Sacred Canon (*ching*) which has already been told in an earlier section of this paper.

VII

I shall now return to the second *li* for which I shall use the Cantonese pronunciation of *lei*. This is one of the four major concepts which I originally set out to study as Chinese counterparts of the idea of natural law.

Lei etymologically means "markings of the divisions in the fields," "markings or veins in the jade," "grains in wood," "fibres in muscles." Hence it has come to mean the form and texture of a thing, or the quality or nature of a thing. Hence

it acquires the meanings of the reason or *raison d'etre* or the law of a thing or of things.

In a collection of miscellaneous writings attributed (often wrongly) to the political philosopher Han Fei who died in 233 B.C., there are two books which are the earliest extant commentaries on the Book of *Lao-tze*. In one of these, there are some interesting definitions of the terms *tao* and *lei*:

> *Tao* (the way or the law of Heaven or Nature) is that by which all things become what they are; it is that with which all *lei* (the law of things) is commeasurable.
>
> Each of the ten thousand things has it own distinct law (*lei*) but the *tao* commeasures the law (*lei*) of all things.
>
> The *lei* of things comprises their qualities of squareness or roundness, shortness or length, coarseness or fineness, hardness, or brittleness, weight and color.

From these we can discern an effort to differentiate the meaning of these two words, making *tao* stand for the concept of "the Way or Law of Nature" in the universal and all-pervading sense, and *lei* confined to the meaning of "the reason or law of things," that is, the law of nature as manifested in all things. But in spite of such attempts at definition and distinction, the two terms have continued to be interchangeable in use.

In an interesting passage, Mencius (c. 372-c. 289 B.C.) used the word *lei* in the sense of universal truth, in the sense of what agrees with "common right and wrong." He said:

> All mouths of men agree in enjoying the same relishes; all ears agree in enjoying the same (musical) sounds; all eyes agree in recognizing the same beauty. Is there nothing which all minds agree in affirming to be true? What is it then which all minds recognize to be true? It is *lei* (universal truth or law) and *i* (universal right or righteousness)… Universal truth and right are agreeable to our mind, just as tasty meals are pleasing to our taste.

The monosyllabic word *lei* often appears in the two bi-syllabic forms both in the classical language and in popular parlance: (1) *tao-lei*, literally, the way and reason, that is, universal truth or natural law; and (2) *t'ien-lei*, the reason or law of God or Nature.

In the Han Fei book already referred to, the term *tao-lei* occurs many times. The following passage is typical:

> For those who work in accordance with the universal laws of nature (*tao-lei*), there is nothing that they cannot accomplish… For those who act foolishly and in disregard of the universal laws of nature, even though they may possess the power and authority of Kings and princes and the fabulous wealth of an I-tun or Tao-chu, they will alienate the support of the people and lose all their possessions.

In the popular language of the people, *tao-lei* means what Mencius regards as that which all minds agree in affirming to be true and just. It is Natural Law in the sense of "common right and reason." A story is told of the first Emperor (960–975 A.D.) of the Sung Dynasty who one day asked his chief minister and adviser, Chao Pu, "What is the greatest thing in the world?" Chao Pu was thinking over the question when the Emperor again asked, "What is the greatest thing in the world?" Chao Pu replied: "*Tao-lei* is the greatest." The Emperor was so pleased with the answer that he repeatedly said, "How right you are!"

The term *t'ien-lei* originally means "the natural arrangement of muscles in the animal body." It has come to be used in philosophical literature in the sense of the original pure and unsullied nature of man, and also in the sense of the Law of God or the Natural Law. In the latter sense, it is sometimes interchangeable with *t'ien-tao* (the Way of God, the Law of Nature), and sometimes distinct from it in that whereas *t'ien-tao* stands for the universal, all-pervading and immutable Law of God or Nature, *t'ien-lei* seems to mean certain more specific truths which are generally recognized as natural laws in things, that is, as the Law of God or Nature in its manifold manifestations in the things of the universe.

In the following pages, I shall cite a few facts to show the historical role played by these natural law concepts of *lei* and *t'ien-lei* to which the Chinese philosopher-statesmen from time to time made appeal in their criticism of government policy and in their fight against injustice and misrule.

Tung Chung-shu, one of the most influential founders of the State Religion of Confucianism in the Han Empire, was probably the first man to make appeal to the Law of God (*t'ien-lei*) in his attack on the nobles and officials of the Empire who engaged in commerce and industry in competition with the common people. He said to the Emperor Wu-ti:

> … Now the world of antiquity is the same world of the present day. Why then are we so far behind the ancients in the peace and welfare of the people? Is it possible that there has been failure in following the Way (*tao*) of the ancients and that there has been deviation from the Law (*lei*) of God?
>
> Even God has had to divide his creatures into groups or classes. Those creatures which are given the upper teeth, have no horns or antlers. Those which have wings, are given only two feet. The meaning of all this is that whosoever receives the greater gift, must not take the smaller one.
>
> In ancient society, those who received their pay from the State had to refrain from manual work for gain and must not engage in commercial business. That is the same principle that recipients of higher gifts must not take the lower one: that is in agreement with the Will of Heaven.
>
> Even God could not satisfy those who, having gotten the greater gifts, wanted to take in all the minor ones. How can man ever satisfy them? That is why the people today are crying out in their poverty.

Then he went on to attack the powerful families who abused their power and wealth and competed with the people in all gainful professions, with the result that the rich became richer, and the poor became poorer and poorer. "Therefore," said Tung Chung-shu, "those who live on their official salary or hereditary pensions, must not compete with the common people in the profitable trades and professions. That is the law of Heaven and also the Way of the ancients. The government should make this a law of the empire which all officials must obey."

In the eleventh century, the great statesman Wang An-shih (1021–1086) succeeded in converting the young Emperor Shen-tsung (reigning 1068–1085) to his political philosophy that the time had arrived for carrying out a program of fundamental reforms in every sphere of the government. It was called "the New Policy" or New Deal, which involved a reorganization of the government structure, of the army, of the civil service examination system, of taxation and finances, and many economic

measures of a mildly socialistic nature. The reform government lasted nearly 16 years (1069–1085). Wang An-shih had the complete confidence of his sovereign, so he had no great need to appeal to any higher law or authority. It was even rumored that the reform leaders maintained that "the great Ancestors of the dynasty were not worthy of emulation, the Heavenly Warnings in the form of catastrophes and abnormalities were not to be feared, and public opposition was not to be heeded."

But the opposition, which was led by a remarkable group of conservative but upright statesmen, felt the necessity to appeal to a higher authority than the Government and the Monarch. So it was the opposition party that often upheld such concepts as the Way of Nature and the Law of Nature (*t'ien-lei*) as the authoritative basis of their criticism and opposition to the reforms. It was Ssu-ma Kuang (1019–1086), the historian and leader of the opposition party, who in his famous letter to Wang An-shih, quoted Lao-tze's doctrine of non-action and non-interference as the Way of Nature, and censured his friend and political enemy for having apparently disregarded what he had studied and admired. It was Cheng Hao (1032–1085), one of the great philosophers of the age, who, in his memorials to the throne, often referred to the Natural Law (*t'ien-lei*) which he conceived as immutable and not varying with the change of time.

And when China came under the exceedingly despotic rule of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), it was once more the concepts of *lei* and *t'ien-lei* that were appealed to by those hundreds of heroic scholars, philosophers, censors and statesmen, who in the course of two centuries and a half, fought against strong-willed Prime Ministers, wicked and powerful eunuchs, and ignorant and despotic monarchs. The Ming period was undoubtedly the most tyrannical age in Chinese history. There was the most infamous practice of publicly flogging censors and ministers of state in the Imperial Palaces. There were the Special Police Courts presided over by powerful eunuchs and armed with arbitrary powers to make arrests, hold secret trials, and use the worst kinds of torture to obtain confessions of guilt and to intimidate and punish all those who dared criticize and oppose the Government. Hundreds of prominent statesmen and philosophers (including the great philosopher Wang Shou-jen, better known as Wang Yang-ming) suffered torture, and not a few perished under its horrors. It was the absolute monarchy at its worst.

Against such despotism run amok, neither the doctrine of the Way of Heaven or Nature as Lao-tze conceived it, nor the Will of God as Mo Ti and Tung Chung-shu taught it, nor the supreme authority of the Sacred Canon of Confucian Scriptures could furnish any effective check or control.

Yet the Chinese fighters for justice and better government and for the traditional right of out-spoken criticism against the government and the sovereign, fought on. The only moral and spiritual weapon which gave them courage and strength to fight on in such an apparently hopeless battle, was the concept of *lei* or *t'ien-lei* in the sense of Universal Truth or Reason or Natural Law.

But the concept of *lei* or *t'ien-lei* had undergone a fundamental change. The preeminent and most influential school of philosophy of the age was the School of Wang Yang-ming (1472–1528) who taught that there is no *lei* (reason or law) outside the mind, and that there is in every man the "innate and intuitive knowledge"

(*liang-chih*) which is the moral conscience of man and which "knows right to be right and wrong to be wrong." The Natural Law is what every man's innate and intuitive moral conscience perceived to be the truth and the law which it is his duty to "extend and apply to all things and all events."

It was this new conception of the Natural Law (*lei*) within everyman's intuitive moral conscience that gave the spiritual strength to those courageous men to fight on with a vivid conviction that, flogged they might be, banished they might be, tortured and martyred they might be,—they were fighting and suffering for a just and right cause which would ultimately be vindicated. One of the philosophers of the age, Lü K'uen (1536–1618), left a volume of his thoughts and reflections under the title of "Groaning Words," in which I find this observation on the moral and political struggle of his time: "There are only two things supreme in this world: one is *lei*, the other is political authority. Of the two, lei is the more supreme. When *lei* is discussed in the Imperial Court or Palace, even the Emperor cannot suppress it by his authority. And even when *lei* is temporarily suppressed, it will always triumph in the end and will prevail in the world throughout the ages."

Let these "groaning words" of an old philosopher conclude my study of the Natural Law concepts in the Chinese tradition. None of these concepts was able to achieve the objective of checking or limiting the absolute powers of the unlimited monarchy. No concept of the Natural Law alone can ever achieve that objective, in China or in any other country on earth. But the story is worth telling. It confirms and verifies a historical thesis, namely, that the concept or concepts of Natural Law or Natural Right have always played the historical role of a fighting weapon in mankind's struggle against the injustice and the tyranny of unlimited human authority.

Chapter 22
Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method

This essay, substantially with little change but without the Chinese characters, is included in a volume entitled Vision and Action: Essays in Honor of Horace Kallen on His Seventieth Birthday, published in 1953 by the Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., pp. 223–250.

Is Ch'an (Zen) Beyond Our Understanding?

For more than a quarter of a century, my learned friend, Dr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, formerly of the Otani University, Kyoto, Japan, has been interpreting and introducing Zen Buddhism to the Western world. Through his untiring effort and through his many books on Zen, he has succeeded in winning an audience and a number of followers, notably in England. As a friend and as a historian of Chinese thought, I have followed Suzuki's work with keen interest. But I have never concealed from him my disappointment in his method of approach. My greatest disappointment has been that, according to Suzuki and his disciples, Zen is illogical, irrational, and, therefore, beyond our intellectual understanding. In his book *Living by Zen Suzuki* tells us:

> If we are to judge Zen from our common-sense view of things, we shall find the ground thinking away under our feet. Our so-called rationalistic way of thinking has apparently no use in evaluating the truth or untruth of Zen. It is altogether beyond the ken of human understanding. All that we can therefore state about Zen is that its uniqueness lies in its irrationality or its passing beyond our logical comprehension.[1]

It is this denial of the capability of the human intelligence to understand and evaluate Zen that I emphatically refuse to accept. Is the so-called Ch'an or Zen

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Chapter Note: Philosophy East and West. Apr., 1953. Vol. 3. No.1. pp. 3–24.

[1] Suzuki, *Living by Zen* (Tokyo: Sanseido Press, 1949), p. 20.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_22, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

really so illogical and irrational that it is "altogether beyond the ken of human understanding" and that our rational or rationalistic way of thinking is of no use "in evaluating the truth and untruth of Zen"?

The Ch'an (Zen) movement is an integral part of the history of Chinese Buddhism, and the history of Chinese Buddhism is an integral part of the general history of Chinese thought. Ch'an can be properly understood only in its historical setting just as any other Chinese philosophical school must be studied and understood in its historical setting.

The main trouble with the "irrational" interpreters of Zen has been that they deliberately ignore this historical approach. "Zen," says Suzuki, "is above space-time relations, and naturally even above historical facts."[2] Any man who takes this unhistorical and anti-historical position can never understand the Zen movement or the teaching of the great Zen masters. Nor can he hope to make Zen properly understood by the people of the East or the West. The best he can do is to tell the world that Zen is Zen and is altogether beyond our logical comprehension.

But if we restore the Zen movement to its "space-time relations," that is, place it in its proper historical setting, and study it and its seemingly strange teachings as "historical facts," then, but not until then, an intelligent and rational understanding and appreciation of this great movement in Chinese intellectual and religious history may yet be achieved.

Shên-Hui and the Establishment of Chinese Ch'an

What follows is a new history of the Chinese Ch'an (Zen) movement which I have reconstructed on the basis of authentic records[3] hitherto neglected or distorted but now clarified and strongly supported by eighth- and ninth-century documents hidden away for over a thousand years in a sealed-cave library in the desert region of Tunhuang 敦煌 in modern Kansu and only recently edited and published in China

[2] Essays in *Zen Buddhism* (London: Luzac and Company, 1927), Second Series, p. 189.

[3] These records include the following:

A. Wang Wei 王维 (699–759), Liu-Tsu Nêng-Ch'an-Shih Pei 六祖能禅师碑 ("Biographical Monument of the Ch'an Master Hui-nêng") in *T'ang Wên Ts'ui* 唐文粹, section 63.
B. Tsung-mi 宗密 (died 841), *Yüan-Chiao-Ching Ta-Shu Shih-I Ch'ao* 圆觉经大疏词释义钞 (*A Detailed Commentary on the Yüan-Chiao-Ching, Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*) in the Kyoto Supplement of the Tripitaka, I. xiv. 3b, containing biographical notes on Hui-nêng and Shên-hui.
C. Tsung-mi, *Ch'an-Yüan-Chu-Ch'üan-Chi Tu Hsü* 禅源诸诠集都序 (*General Preface to the Collection of Source-Material of the Ch'an Schools? "The Fountainheads of Ch'an"*) in *Taishō Tripitaka*, 2015, 48.
D. Chan-ning 赞宁 (918–999), *Sung Kao-Sêng Chuan* 宋高僧传 (*The Sung Series of Biographies of Eminent Monks*), Book 8, containing the biographies of Hui-nêng and Shên-hui.

and Japan.[4] Both Suzuki and I have taken part in the editing and publishing of some of the newly discovered materials.

The story will begin with the year A.D. 700, when the Empress Wu 武后 (who reigned as "Emperor" from 690 to 705) invited an old Ch'an monk of the Lankā School 楞伽宗[5] to pay her a visit at the capital city of Chang-an. The monk was Shên-hsiu 神秀, who was then already over 90 years old and had long been famous for his dhyāna (meditation) practice and ascetic life at his hilly retreat in the Wutang Mountains 武当山 in modern Hupeh. The imperial invitation was so earnest and insistent that the aged monk finally accepted.

When he arrived in 701, he had to be carried in a chair to the imperial audience. The Empress was said to have done him the unusual honor of curtsying and making him a guest in one of her palaces. Her two emperor-sons (whom she had deposed successively in 684 and 690) and the whole Court worshipped him and sat at his feet. For 4 years he was honored as "the Lord of the Law at the Two National Capitals of Chang-an and Loyang, and the Teacher of Three Emperors." When he died in 705, he was mourned by the Court and hundreds of thousands of the populace. By imperial order, three monasteries were built in his memory, one at

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[4] Of these newly discovered materials—the Tunhuang Manuscripts—I wish to mention here only the following published ones:

A. *Shên-Hui Ho-Shang I Chi* 神会和尚遗集 (The Surviving Works of the Monk Shên-Hui), consisting of three Tunhuang MSS. nos. 3047a, b, and 3488, of the Paul Pelliot Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and one MS. no. S.468, of the Sir Aurel Stein Collection at the British Museum. Edited and published with a new biography of Shên-hui by Hu Shih, Shanghai, 1930. They are referred to in this paper as Shên-hui's *Discourses*.

Acomplete French translation of Hu Shih's edition of these four MSS. has been published by Jacques Gernet under the title "Entrêtiens du Maître de Dhyâna Chen-houei du Ho-tsö," in *Publications de l'école française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. XXXI, Hanoi, 1949. Gernet has also published "Biographie du Maître Chen-houei du Ho-tsö," in *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCXXXIX, 1951.

B. *Ho-Tsê Shên-Hui Ch'an-Shih Yü-Lu* 荷泽神会禅师语录 (*Discourses of the Ch'an Master Shên-Hui of Ho-tsê*), consisting of another Tunhuang MS. more or less corresponding to the Pelliot MS. no. 3047a published by Hu Shih. This MS. came to the possession of Mitsui Ishü of Japan, who, in 1932, made a collotype reprint of it for private circulation. In 1934, Suzuki collated the Ishü MS. with the Hu Shih edition and published a new edition in movable type under the above title. This MS. lacks the beginning parts (pp. 97–103 of Hu Shih ed.), but contains additional material at the end (pp. 49–67 of Suzuki ed.), including a sketch of the life-story of the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-nêng (pp. 60–64).

[5] The School of Lankă was named after the Lankāvatāra Sūtra which its founder, Bodhidharma, was said to have told his followers to regard as "the only translated Scripture which, if followed in conduct, may lead to salvation." The school was noted for the ascetic (*t'ou-t'o*, dhūta in Sanskrit) life of its followers, each monk allowing himself only one dress, one bowl and two needles, and begging one meal a day, and living under trees or in caves or hills far away from human dwelling places. See Hu Shih, "Lêng-Chia Tsung K'ao" 楞伽丛考 (A Study of the Lankā School) in *Hu Shih Lun Hsüeh Chin Chu* 胡适论学近著 (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1935), pp. 198–238.

the Capital, one at his birthplace in Honan, and one at the place of his ch'an life. A brother of the two emperors and Chang Yüeh 张说, the great prose writer of the day, wrote his biographical monuments.

In Chang Yüeh's text, this genealogical line of Shên-hsiu's Buddhist descent was made public:

1. Bodhidharma 菩提达摩[6]
2. Hui-k'o 慧可
3. Sêng Ts'an 僧璨
4. Tao-hsin 道信 (died 651)
5. Hung-jên 弘忍 (died 674)
6. Shên-hsiu 神秀

After Shên-hsiu's death, two of his disciples, P'u-chi 普寂 (died 739) and I-fu 义福 (died 732), continued to be honored as National Teachers of the Empire. In their biographical monuments after death, the same genealogical line was mentioned.

This list remained unchallenged for 30 years. It was probably accepted as one of the several lines of descent in the Lankā school since the days of Bodhidharma.

But in the year 734, when P'u-chi was still at the height of his power and prestige, a southern monk by the name of Shên-hui 神会 stood up at a large gathering in a monastery in Huatai 滑台 in modern Honan and openly challenged the line of descent claimed by Shên-hsiu and his school as not true and not historical.

"Bodhidharma," said this strange monk, "gave to Hui-k'o a robe (*chia-sha* 袈裟) as testimonial of the transmission of the true Law. This robe was handed down by Hui-k'o to his chosen successor, and in four generations it came to Hung-jên. But Hung-jên gave it, not to Shên-hsiu, but to Hui-nêng 慧能 of Shaochou 韶州 in the South." And he went on to say: "Even Shên-hsiu himself always said that the robe of transmission had gone to the South. That is why he never claimed in his lifetime that he was the sixth successor. But now the Ch'an master P'u-chi claims that he is the seventh generation, thereby falsely establishing his teacher, Shên-hsiu, to be the sixth successor. That is not to be permitted."

One monk at the meeting raised this warning: "You are attacking the Ch'an master P'u-chi who is nationally known and nationally honored. Are you not risking your own life?" To this Shên-hui replied: "I have called this solemn gathering for the sole purpose of determining the true teaching and settling a great question of right and wrong—for the benefit of all who desire to learn the Truth. I do not care for my own life."

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[6] For a traditional account of Bodhidharma, see Suzuki, *Essays*, First Series, pp. 163–178. For a more critical account, see Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China," *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Vol. XV, no. 4, 486–489.

According to my studies, Bodhidharma arrived in South China about 470–475 A.D. and lived in China for about 50 years, mostly in the North. This view differs radically from the traditional story which says that he arrived in China in 520 or 527 and that he returned to India after only 9 years of sojourn in China.

And he declared that the teaching of Shên-hsiu and P'u-chi was false, because it recognized only Gradual Enlightenment, while "the great teachers of the School, throughout six generations, have all taught the sword must pierce directly through, directly pointing to the sudden realization of one's nature: they never talked about gradations of enlightenment. All those who want to learn the *Tao* (Way) must achieve Sudden Enlightenment to be followed by Gradual Cultivation. It is like child-birth, which is a sudden affair, but the child will require a long process of nurture and education before he attains his full bodily and intellectual growth."

And he condemned the formula of *dhyāna* practice taught by P'u-chi and his fellow students of the great Shên-hsiu—a fourfold formula of "concentrating the mind in order to enter *dhyāna*, settling the mind in that state by watching its forms of purity, arousing the mind to shine in insight, and finally controlling the mind for its inner verification." Shên-hui said all this is "hindrance to *bodhi* (enlightenment)." And he swept aside all forms of sitting in meditation (*tso-ch'an* 坐禅; Japanese, *zazen*) as entirely unnecessary. He said: "If it is right to sit in meditation, then why should Vimalakīrti scold Sāriputta for sitting in meditation in the woods?" "Here in my school, to have no thoughts is meditation-sitting, and to see one's original nature is *dhyāna* (*ch'an*)."

Thus Shên-hui proceeded from denunciation of the most highly honored school of the empire to a revolutionary pronouncement of a new Ch'an which renounces *ch'an* itself and is therefore no *ch'an* at all. This doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment he does not claim as his own theory or that of his teacher, the illiterate monk Hui-nêng of Shaochou, but only as the true teaching of all the six generations of the school of Bodhidharma.[7]

All this, according to the newly discovered documents, took place in 734 in a monastery in Huatai, which was a provincial capital fairly far away from the great cities of Chang-an and Loyang. In 739, the Ch'an master P'u-chi died. In his biographical monument written by the famous Li Yung 李邕 (678–747), the genealogical line from Bodhidharma to Shên-hsiu was repeated with the significant statement that, before his death, he told his disciples, "I was entrusted by my deceased Master with the transmission of the Secret Seal of the Law," which had come down from Bodhidharma. Was this an indirect reply to Shên-hui's attack by deliberately emphasizing that the genealogical line was the *only* line of secret apostolic succession?

In 745, the heretic monk Shên-hui was called to the Ho-tsê Monastery at Loyang, the eastern capital of the Empire, from which monastery was derived the title "The Master of Ho-tsê 荷泽大师" by which Shên-hui has been known to posterity. He arrived at Loyang at the advanced age of 77 and remained there more than 80 years. From his exalted pulpit in a great monastery, he now repeated his open challenge that the line of transmission claimed by the school of Shên-hsiu, I-fu, and P'u-chi was not historical, and that their teaching of Gradual Enlightenment was false.

[7] The doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment was first taught by the philosophical monk Tao-shêng 道生 who died in A.D. 434. See Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China," *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Vol. XV, no. 4. 483–485.

He was an eloquent preacher and a dramatic storyteller. Many apocryphal stories about Bodhidharma's life, such as his interview with the Emperor of Liang and the tale of the second Patriarch's cutting off his own arm to show his earnest desire for instruction, were first invented by him and later came to be further embellished and incorporated into the general traditional history of Chinese Ch'an.

His *Discourses* (Yülu 语录) (in my edition of *Shên-Hui Ho-Shang I-Chi* 神会和尚遗集 of 1930 and in Suzuki's edition of *Ho-tsê Shên-Hui Ch'an-Shih Yülu* 荷泽神会禅师语录 of 1934) shows that he was in friendly contact and discussion with a number of prominent literati and statesmen of the age. From this group he selected the poet Wang Wei 王维 (died 759) to be the biographer of his teacher, Hui-nêng of Shaochou. In this, undoubtedly the earliest biography of Hui-nêng (probably never cut on stone, but preserved in *T'ang Wên Ts'ui* 唐文粹 section 63), it was definitely stated that the Ch'an master Hung-jên regarded his Southern "barbarian" lay laborer as having alone understood his teaching and, when he was dying, gave him "the robe of the Patriarchs" and told him to go away.

Meanwhile, Shên-hui's eloquence and popular teaching were attracting a tremendous following, so tremendous that in 753 the martyr-statesman Lu I 卢奕, Chief of Imperial Censors, memorialized the throne that the Abbot of the Ho-tsê Monastery was "gathering large crowds of people around him and might be suspected of some conspiracy injurious to the interests of the State." The Emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (reigned 713–756, died 762) sent for Shên-hui and, after an interview with him, exiled him to live in Iyang 弋阳 in Kiangsi, whence he was transferred to three other places in the next 2 years.

But at the end of his third year of exile (755–756), there broke out the great rebellion of General An Lu-shan 安禄山 which for a time threatened to overthrow the great T'ang Dynasty. The rebel armies, starting out from the northeastern provinces and sweeping across the northern plains, were able in a few months to capture the eastern capital (Loyang) and shatter all passes leading to Chang-an. The capital fell in July, 756. The Emperor hurriedly left the city in most pitiful and humiliating circumstances and fled to Chengtu, leaving the heir apparent in the northwest to take charge of affairs. The heir apparent was proclaimed the new sovereign and was able to organize a government and rally the loyal armies to fight the rebellion and save the Empire. In 757, both capitals were recovered. The rebellion was suppressed in the course of 6 years.

When the new government was formed in 756, the great problem was how to raise money to carry on the war. One of the emergency measures was to sell an increased number of Buddhist "licenses" (tu-*tieh* 度牒) for ordaining new monks and nuns. To push the sales, it was necessary to hold preaching and proselyting meetings in the cities to open the hearts and the purses of men and women. The great eloquence and popularity of the exiled monk Shên-hui was remembered, probably by his Ch'an friends like Miao Chin-ch'ing 苗晋卿 and Fang Kuan 房琯 who had become leaders in the war government. So, at the age of 89, Shên-hui returned to the recaptured but ruined city of Loyang and preached to huge crowds.

It was recorded that his preaching meetings were most successful in fund-raising, and made no mean contribution to the war effort.

The new Emperor, in appreciation of his work, invited him to visit him at his restored palace and ordered the Department of Works to accelerate the building of his quarters at the Ho-tsê Monastery. The banished heretic became the honored guest of the Empire. He died in 760 at the age of 92.

In 770, an imperial decree named his chapel "The Hall of *Prajñā* (insight) Transmission of the True School." The learned Ch'an historian Tsungmi 宗密 (died 841) reports that in 796 Emperor Tê-tsung 德宗 asked the heir apparent to call a council of Ch'an masters to determine the true teaching of Ch'an and settle the controversy about the direct and collateral lines of transmission. Subsequently an imperial decree was issued establishing "the Master of Ho-tsê" (Shên-hui) as the Seventh Patriarch. This seems to have implied that his teacher, the illiterate monk Hui-nêng of Shaochou, was recognized as the Sixth Patriarch.

In 815, at the request of the Viceroy of Lingnan, an imperial decree conferred posthumous honors on Hui-nêng, who "had died 106 years ago" (which would date his death in 711 instead of the traditional date of 713). The decree designated him "The Master of Great Insight." The local Buddhists and lay public requested two of the great writers of the age, Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元 (died 819) and Liu Yü-hsi 刘禹锡 (died 842), to write two biographical monuments in memory of Hui-nêng. In both texts, the authors unhesitatingly referred to Hui-nêng as the Sixth Patriarch after Bodhidharma. The controversy had long been over, and the victory of Shên-hui's fight had been complete.

Hui-Nêng, the So-Called Sixth Patriarch

What do we know of the illiterate monk Hui-nêng, the established Sixth Patriarch?

In an early fragmentary document known as "Records of the Masters and the Law of the Lankā School" (*Lêng-Chia Jên Fa Chih* 楞伽人法志) written shortly after the death of Shên-hsiu in 706 by one of the latter's fellow students—which was quoted in another history of the Lankā School written a little later and preserved among the Tunhuang manuscripts—it was stated that the Lankā Master Hung-jên (the so-called Fifth Patriarch, who died in 674) had said before his death that there were 11 disciples who could carry on his teaching. This list of 11 includes Shên-hsiu as number one, Chih-hsin 智诜 of Tzŭchou 资州 in modern Szechwan as number two, Hui-nêng of Shaochou as number eight, and seven other fairly well-known monks and one layman. The second man on the list, Chih-hsin (died 702), was a teacher of Ch'an in western China from whom descended two important schools which the historian Tsung-mi mentioned as two of the seven important schools of Ch'an of the eighth century. I am inclined to regard this list of 11 disciples of Hung-jên as fairly authentic, because it was probably made before Shên-hui put forth his

dramatic challenges and long before the two schools descended from Chih-hsin became nationally famous.

Therefore, we may conclude that Hui-nêng was one of the 11 better-known disciples of the Lankā Ch'an Master Hung-jên. The claim that he alone was the secret transmitter of the true teaching and the inheritor of "the robe of the Patriarchs" was in all probability a myth of Shên-hui's invention.

According to Wang Wei's biographical account (written about 734 and already referring to Shên-hui's being persecuted for his "desire to present to his prince a precious pearl"), Hui-nêng was born of a lowly family in an area in Lingnan where aborigines lived in peace with Chinese people. In Shên-hui's brief account of Hui-nêng's life, and in the *T'an-ching* 坛经—*the Sūtra of Hui-nêng*—he was called a "Ke lao" 獦獠, one of the aboriginal peoples of the southwest. He was a manual laborer, moving northward and finding work at the monastery where the master Hung-jên presided. He had a good mind and absorbed what was taught and practiced there. After the alleged transmission of the Patriarchal robe, he returned to the South where for 16 years he lived among the poor and the lowly, the farmers and the small tradesmen. Then he was discovered by a teacher of the *Parinirvāna Sūtra* who ordained him and started him on his own teaching career.

What did he teach? Wang Wei said that he taught forbearance, saying that "he who forbears (*jên*忍) denies his own life and is therefore selfless." "This formed his first vow and his principal teaching." "He often said with a sigh: 'To give even all the Seven Treasures as alms, or to practice (*ch'an*) conduct for even myriads of years, or to write with all the ink in the universe—none of these can compare with a life of non-activity (*wu-wei* 无为) and infinite love.'"

Liu Tsung-yüan's text, written in 816, says that "his teaching began with the goodness of human nature and ended with the goodness of human nature. There is no need of plowing or weeding: it was originally pure."

From these and from Shên-hui's stressing of Sudden Enlightenment, we may infer that this Southern master of lowly and "Ke lao" origin probably was a "*t'ou-t'o*" 头陀 (*dhūta*) ascetic, as most of earlier members of the Lankā School were, whose first principle, according to Bodhidharma, was forbearance of all insult and suffering.[8]

He probably learned from his life-experience among the simple folks that there was the real possibility of opening the hearts and minds of men through some act of sudden awakening. Shên-hui used the proverbial expression "the sword pierces directly through." The Chinese people to this day have translated the notion of sudden enlightenment into a simple proverb: "He lays down the butcher's cleaver, and immediately becomes a Buddha."

[8] See Suzuki's translation of Bodhidharma's teachings in *Essays*, First Series, pp. 178–181.

That was probably the kind of simple and direct message which Hui-nêng had for the poor and the lowly who understood him and loved him. He made light of "all the ink in the universe," and left no writing.[9]

Thus the first Chinese School of Ch'an was established through Shên-hui's 30 years (730–760) of bitter fighting and popular preaching, and through the official recognition of Hui-nêng as the Sixth Patriarch and Shên-hui as the Seventh Patriarch of "the True School."

By the last quarter of the eighth century, there began a great stampede in the Ch'an schools—a stampede of almost every teacher or school of Ch'an to join the school of Hui-nêng and Shên-hui. It was not easy, however, to claim a tie to Shên-hui, who had died only too recently. But Hui-nêng had died early in the eighth century, and his disciples were mostly unknown ascetics who lived and died in their hilly retreats. One could easily claim to have paid a visit to some of them. So, in the last decades of the century, some of those unknown names were remembered or discovered. Two of those names thus exhumed from obscurity were Huai-jang 怀让 of the Hêng Mountains 衡山 in Hunan, and Hsing-ssŭ 行思 of the Ch'ing-yuan Mountains 青原山 of Kiangsi. Neither of these names appeared in Shên-hui's brief sketch of Hui-nêng's life-story (at the end of Suzuki's edition of the *Discourses*), which contains four names of his disciples, or in the oldest text of the *T'an-ching*, which mentions ten names.

Ma-tsu 马祖 (Baso in Japanese), one of the greatest Ch'an masters of the age, originally came from the Ching-chung School 净众寺 in Chengtu, which was one of the two Ch'an schools tracing their origin to the Lankā monk Chih-hsin, one of

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[9] A Note on the *T'an-ching* 坛经. The book called *The Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liu-Tsu T'an-ching* 六祖坛经) or *The Sūtra of Hui-Nêng* which has been translated into English by Wong Moulam under the title of *The Sūtra of Wei Lang* (London; The Buddhist Society, 1944) is a work of dubious authenticity. It was probably originally composed late in the eighth century. But the original text has been greatly revised and greatly enlarged by later interpolations throughout the ages so that the current edition (on which the English translation was based) is about twice the length of the oldest text preserved in the Tunhuang caves and brought to the British Museum by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907. This earliest text is now accessible in the *Taishō Tripitaka*, 2007, 48, and also in Suzuki's edition of 1934.

This earliest text contains about 11,000 Chinese characters. The current edition contains about 22,000 characters. So about half of the current edition of the *T'an-ching* represents the interpolations and additions of the last ten centuries.

Internal evidence shows that even the oldest text of Tunhuang is made up of two parts, the second half being apparently a later addition.

What can we say of the first half—the original text—of the *T'an-ching*? Twenty years ago I suggested that Shên-hui was probably the author, because the major ideas contained in it were undoubtedly taken from Shên-hui's *Discourses*. I have ` modified my earlier opinion. I now suggest that the original *T'an-ching* was composed by an eighth-century monk, most likely a follower of Shên-hui's school, who had read the latter's *Discourses* and decided to produce a *Book of the Sixth Patriarch* by rewriting his life-story in the form of fictionized autobiography and by taking a few basic ideas from Shên-hui and padding them into *Sermon of Hui-nêng*.

the above-mentioned 11 disciples of Hung-jên. But when Ma-tsu died in 788, his biographer wrote that he had studied under Huai-jang, and learned the truth of sudden enlightenment from him. Another great master of the age, Hsi-ch'ien 希迁 (died 790), generally known as "Shih-t'ou" 石头 (the Rock), was said to have studied under Hsing-ssŭ.

There was an old school of Ch'an, long known as the School of the Ox-head Hill 牛头山 (near the modern city of Nanking), which was founded by the monk Fa-yung 法融 (died 657), a contemporary of the Buddhist historian Tao-hsüan (died 667). Tao-hsüan wrote Fa-yung's biography in 2,433 words without mentioning that he had any connection with the Lankā School of Bodhidharma. But in the eighth century, the monks of the Ox-head School were willing to acknowledge that their founder was at one time a student of Tao-hsin, "the Fourth Patriarch" after Bodhidharma. Therefore, the founder of the Ox-head School became the spiritual "uncle" of the Sixth Patriarch.

So, the great stampede went on. In the course of a hundred years, practically all Ch'an schools came to be spiritually and genealogically descended from, or related to, Hui-nêng, "the Sixth Patriarch of the True School of Ch'an."

The Seven Schools of Ch'an in the Eighth Century

What I have sketched above—Shên-hui's challenge and attack against the school of "the Lord of the Law at the Two National Capitals of Chang-an and Loyang and the Teacher of Three Emperors," his lifelong popular preaching of a new and simple form of Buddhism based on the idea of sudden enlightenment, his four-time banishment, and his final victory in the official recognition of his school as the True School—was historically not an isolated event, but only a part of a larger movement which may be correctly characterized as an internal reformation or revolution in Buddhism, a movement that had been fermenting and spreading throughout the eighth century in many parts of China, especially in the great South, from the western cities of Chengtu and Tz$_{\check{u}}$chou to the eastern centers of Buddhism in Yangchow, Kiangning (Nanking), and Hangchow, from the mountain retreats in Hunan and Kiangsi to the southern regions of Shaochou and Kuangchou. Shên-hui himself was a product of a revolutionary age in which great minds in the Buddhist and Ch'an schools were, in one way or another, thinking dangerous thoughts and preaching dangerous doctrines.

Shên-hui was a political genius who understood the signs of the time and knew what to attack and how to do it. So he became the warrior and the statesman of the new movement and fired the first shot of the revolution. His long life, his great eloquence, and, above all, his courage and shrewdness carried the day, and a powerful orthodoxy was crushed. What appeared to be an easy and quick victory was probably due to the fact that his striking tactics of bold and persistent offensive attacks and his simple and popular preaching of more than two decades had already won for himself and his cause a tremendous following

among the people and a large number of influential friends in intellectual and political circles. The poet Wang Wei, who wrote the earliest biographical account of Hui-nêng at the time of Shên-hui's exile, said in most unmistakable language that Hui-nêng received from his teacher "the robe of the Patriarchs" and that the persecution of Shên-hui was an injustice. And Tu Fu 杜甫 (712–770), a friend of Wang Wei and the greatest poet of China, already had spoken of "the Ch'an of the Seventh Patriarch" in one of his longest poems. The cause of Hui-nêng and Shên-hui, therefore, was already won long before its official establishment.

The time was ripe, therefore, for the success of the revolution. And the stampede of the Ch'an schools to get on the band wagon was only further evidence that the victory was welcomed by the liberals, the radicals, and the heretics of the schools. To them, the victory must have meant a great liberation of thought and belief from the old shackles of tradition and authority.

What do we know of the dangerous thoughts of the age?

Before presenting the radical thinking of the Ch'an schools of the eighth century, it may be interesting to hear a severe critic who lived through the second half of that century and was greatly disturbed by the iconoclastic and revolutionary teachings of his day. I quote the following words from Liang Su 梁肃 (753–793), one of the prose masters of the age, and a devout follower of the old Ch'an of the T'ien-t'ai School 天台宗 which had had its heyday in the last decades of the sixth century under its founder, the great master Chih-i 智 (died 597), but which was burdened down by an encyclopedic scholasticism and was a declining school by the eighth century. "Nowadays," said Liang Su, "few men have the true faith. Those who travel the path of Ch'an go so far as to teach the people that there is neither Buddha, nor Law (*dharma*) and that neither sin nor goodness has any significance. When they preach these doctrines to the average men or men below the average, they are believed by all those who live their lives of worldly desires. Such ideas are accepted as great truths which sound so pleasing to the ear. And the people are attracted by them just as the moths in the night are drawn to their burning death by the candle light… Such doctrines are as injurious and dangerous as the devil (Māra) and the ancient heretics."[10] Such was an eyewitness testimony of the popularity of the dangerous thoughts of the Ch'an teachers of his time.

The learned monk Tsung-mi (died 841) devoted a lifetime to collecting the writings and recorded sayings of nearly a hundred teachers of Ch'an from Bodhidharma down to his own age. Unfortunately, his great collection, which he called "The Fountainheads of Ch'an," has been lost. Only his "General Preface" containing his analysis and criticism of the schools has survived. In this preface (which is a little book by itself), he analyzed the "modern" Ch'an movement into ten principal schools, which he classified under three main movements: (1) Those that taught "the extinction of false thoughts by cultivating or controlling the mind"—that is, the

[10] Liang Su, "On the T'ien-t'ai School," in *T'ang Wên Ts'ui*, section 61.

schools of the old or Indian *dhyāna*. (2) Those that taught that "nothing is real, and there is nowhere to abide," and that "there is neither Truth [Law] to bind us, nor Buddhahood to attain." These include the school of the Ox-head Hill and the school of Hsi-ch'ien (Shih-t'ou). (3) Those that discarded all older forms of Ch'an and taught "a direct appeal to the mind or the nature of man." This group includes the schools of Shên-hui and Ma-tsu.

In a very voluminous commentary on a tiny "*sūtra*"—*the Yüan-Chiao-Ching* 圆觉经 (the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*), which was most probably fabricated by Tsung-mi himself—there occurs a lengthy passage in which Tsung-mi lists the Seven Great Schools of Ch'an and gives a concise summary of the teachings of each. It is very remarkable that, of the seven, only three may be called the old Ch'an, while the other four are distinctly revolutionary. Without following his arrangement of the order of the schools, I shall present the older schools first:

The three older schools were:

1. The Northern School of Shên-hsiu and his disciples, which Shên-hui had attacked as the Ch'an of gradual enlightenment.
2. A school in western China which practiced a peculiar way of pronouncing the one word "Fu" (Buddha) as the method of simplified contemplation.
3. The school of Chih-hsin, a fellow student with Shên-hsiu and Hui-nêng, and the later school founded by Chih-hsin's disciples at the Ching-chung Monastery 净众寺 in Chengtu. It was the tradition of these schools to simplify Ch'an to three sentences: "Don't recall the past; don't contemplate the future; don't forget the path of wisdom." It was from the last-named Ching-chung School that the famous Ma-tsu came.

   Even in this group of older schools, there was a clear tendency to break away from Indian *dhyāna* practice and work out their own simplified form of contemplation.
4. The fourth school was that of the Pao-t'ang Monastery 保唐寺 at Chengtu, founded by the monk Wu-chu 无住 (died 774), who came out of the Ching-chung School and started a quite radical school of his own, in which "all forms of Buddhist religious practice—such as worship, prayer, repentance, recitation of the *sūtras*, painting the image of the Buddha, and copying Buddhist scriptures—were forbidden and condemned as foolish." This school inherited the "three sentences" from the mother school, but changed the third to read: "Don't be foolish." And to them "all thought, good or evil, is foolish and idle." "No thought, no consciousness—that is the ideal."
5. The fifth school, to which Tsung-mi himself claimed allegiance, was that of Shên-hui, which, as already noted, renounced all Ch'an practices and believed in the possibility of sudden enlightenment. Tsung-mi was very fond of quoting Shên-hui's dictum: "The one word 'Knowledge' is the gateway to all mysteries." That sentence best characterizes Shên-hui's intellectualistic approach. In his Discourses, he frankly said: "Here in my place, there is no such thing as *ting*定 (*samādhi*, quietude), and nobody talks of concentration of the mind." "Even the desire to seek *bodhi* (enlightenment) and achieve *nirvāna* is foolish."

6. The sixth school was the Ox-head Hill School, an old school based on the philosophy of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* and the Mādhyamika School of Nāgārjuna. Under its new leaders in the eighth century, notably Hsüan-su 玄素 (died 752) and Tao-ch'in 道钦 (died 792), the school seemed to have become openly nihilistic and even iconoclastic. Tsung-mi says this school taught that "there is neither Truth [Law] to bind us, nor Buddhahood to attain." "Even if there be a life better than *nirvāna*, I say that that too is as unreal as a dream." Hsüan-su's biographer told this story: A butcher notorious for his great cruelty heard him speak and was moved to repentance. Hsüan-su accepted him and even went to his house and took meals with his family. Tsung-mi says this school holds that "there is neither cultivation, nor no-cultivation; there is neither Buddha, nor no-Buddha."
7. The seventh school was the great School of Tao-i 道一 (called Ma-tsu because of his family name Ma, died 788). Ma-tsu taught that "the Tao is everywhere and in everything. Every idea, every movement of the body—a cough, a sigh, a snapping of the fingers, or raising of the eyebrows—is the functioning of the Buddha-nature in man. Even love, anger, covetousness and hate are all functionings of the Buddha-nature." Therefore, there is no need of a particular method of cultivation. "Let the mind be free. Never seek to do good, nor seek to do evil, nor seek to cultivate the *Tao*. Follow the course of Nature, and move freely. Forbid nothing, and do nothing. That is the way of the 'free man,' who is also called the 'superman.'" According to Tsung-mi, this school also holds that "there is neither Law [Truth] to bind us, nor Buddhahood to attain."

These are the schools of Chinese Ch'an as Tsung-mi knew them in the early years of the ninth century. The Pao-t'ang School was openly iconoclastic and even anti-Buddhistic. The three others were equally radical and probably even more iconoclastic in their philosophical implications.

One of Ma-tsu's famous disciples, T'ien-jan 天然 (died 824) of Tanhsia 丹霞 (Tanka in Japanese), was spending a night at a ruined temple with a few traveling companions. The night was bitterly cold and there was no firewood. He went to the Hall of Worship, took down the wooden image of the Buddha, and made a comfortable fire. When he was reproached by his comrades for this act of sacrilege, he said: "I was only looking for the *śarīra* (sacred relic) of the Buddha." "How can you expect to find śarīra in a piece of wood?" said his fellow travelers. "Well," said T'ien-jan, "then, I am only burning a piece of wood after all."

Such a story can be properly understood only in the light of the general intellectual tendencies of a revolutionary age. Professor Nukariya, in *The Religion of the Samurai*, twice quoted this story to show that Chinese Zen was iconoclastic. But Suzuki says: "Whatever the merit of Tanka from the purely Zen point of view, there is no doubt that such deeds as his are to be regarded as highly sacrilegious and to be avoided by all pious Buddhists."[11]

[11] Suzuki, *Essays*, First Series, p. 317.

Those pious Buddhists will never understand Chinese Ch'an. And they will never understand another disciple of Ma-tsu's, the lay scholar P'ang Yün 庞蕴, who left this famous dictum: "Do empty yourselves of everything that exists, and never reify anything that exists not." This is truly a wonderful saying which is as sharp and as destructive as the famous "Occam's razor": "Entities should not be unnecessarily multiplied." Old P'ang's dictum, "Never reify (shih) anything that exists not," may be called "P'ang's razor" or the razor of Chinese Ch'an, with which the medieval ghosts, the gods, the *bodhisattvas* and the Buddhas, the four stages of *dhyāna*, the four formless states of *samādhi*, the six divine powers of the attained yoga practitioner, etc., were to be cut off and destroyed.

That is the Chinese Ch'an of the eighth century, which, as I have said before, is no Ch'an at all, but a Chinese reformation or revolution within Buddhism.

The Great Persecution and the Post-persecution Iconoclasm

But this reformation within Buddhism itself, this internal revolution within a section of Buddhism, had not gone far enough or long enough to save Buddhism from a catastrophic external revolution. This external revolution came in August, 845, in the form of the greatest persecution of Buddhism in the entire history of its 2,000 years in China.

The great Persecution was ordered by Emperor Wu-tsung 武宗 (841–846), who was undoubtedly under the strong influence of a few leading Taoist priests. But the persecution of 845–846, like those of 446, 574, and 955, also represented the deep-rooted centuries-long Chinese nationalistic resentment against Buddhism as a foreign and un-Chinese religion. Early in the ninth century, Han Yü 韩愈 (768–824), one of the greatest classical writers of China, published a famous essay in which he openly denounced Buddhism as un-Chinese, as a way of life of the barbarians. He frankly advocated a ruthless suppression: "Restore its people to human living! Burn its books! And convert its buildings to human dwellings!" 21 years after his death, those savage slogans were carried out in every detail.

The Great Persecution lasted only 2 years, but long enough to destroy 4,600 big temples and monasteries and over 40,000 minor places of worship and Ch'an retreat, confiscate millions of acres of landed property of the Church, free 150,000 male and female slaves or retainers of the temples and monasteries, and force 265,000 monks and nuns to return to secular life. Only two temples with 30 monks each were permitted to stand in each of the two capitals, Chang-an and Loyang. Of the 228 prefectures in the Empire, only the capital cities of the "first-grade" prefectures were permitted to retain one temple each with ten monks. Buddhist scriptures and images and stone monuments were destroyed wherever they were found. At the end of one of the persecution decrees, after enumerating what had already been accomplished in the policy of Buddhist persecution, the Emperor said: "Henceforth the affairs of monks and nuns shall be governed by the Bureau of Affairs of Foreigners, thereby to show clearly that they belong to the religion of the barbarians."

The persecution, disastrous and barbaric as it was, probably had the effect of enhancing the prestige of the Ch'an monks, who never had to rely upon the great wealth or the architectural splendor and extravagance of the great temples and monasteries. Indeed, they did not have to rely even upon the scriptures. And at least some of them had been theoretically or even overtly iconoclastic.

In one of the unusually frank biographical monuments of the post-persecution period, the biographer of the monk Ling-yu 灵佑 (died 853), a descendant of Ma-tsu and founder of the Kwei-shan 沩山 and Yang-shan 仰山 Schools of Ch'an, tells us that at the time of the Great Persecution, Ling-yu simply put on the cap and dress of the layman when he was ordered to return to secular life. "He did not want to be in any way different from the people," said the biographer. And when the persecution was over and the Buddhist religion was permitted to revive, the Governor of Hunan, who was a Buddhist and a friend of many leading Ch'an masters including Tsung-mi, invited Ling-yu to come out of his retirement and suggested that he should shave off his beard and hair. He refused to shave, saying with a smile: "Do you think that Buddhism has anything to do with my hair and beard?" But when he was repeatedly urged to shave, he yielded, again with a smile.[12] That was the way a great Ch'an master looked at the Great Persecution. He did not seem to have been much disturbed.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the two greatest Ch'an teachers of the decades immediately following the persecution were the iconoclastic Hsüan-chien of Têshan 德山 and I-hsüan of Linchi 临济 (Rinzai in Japanese).

Hsüan-chien 宣鉴 (died 865), the spiritual ancestor of the Yünmên 云门 (Ummon in Japanese) and Fa-yen 法眼 (Hōgen in Japanese) Schools of the tenth century, taught a doctrine of "doing nothing" which harks back to Ma-tsu and reminds us of the philosophy of Lao-tzŭ and Chuang-tzŭ. "My advice to you," said he, "is, take a rest and have nothing to do. Even if that little blue-eyed barbarian, Bodhidharma, should come back here and now, he could only teach you to do nothing. Put on your clothes, eat your food, and move your bowels. That's all. No life-and-death [cycle] to fear. No transmigration to dread. No nirvāna to achieve, and no *bodhi* to acquire. Just try to be an ordinary human being, having nothing to do."

He was fond of using the most profane language in speaking of things sacred in Buddhism. "Here, there is neither Buddha, nor Patriarchs… The *bodhisattvas* are only dung-heap coolies. *Nirvāna* and *bodhi* are dead stumps to tie your donkeys to. The 12 divisions of the Sacred Teaching are only lists of ghosts, sheets of paper fit only for wiping the pus from your boils. And all the 'four fruitions' and 'ten stages' are mere ghosts lingering in their decayed graves. Have these anything to do with your salvation?"

"The wise seek not the Buddha. The Buddha is the great murderer who has seduced so many people into the pitfalls of the prostituting Devil." "That old barbarian rascal [Buddha] claimed that he had survived the destruction of three worlds.

[12] *Chêng Yü* 郑愚 "Biographical Monument of Ling-yu," in *T'ang Wên Ts'ui*, section 63.

Where is he now? Did he not die after 80 years of life? Was he in any way different from you?" "O ye wise men, disengage your bodies and your minds! Free yourselves from all bondages."

While Hsüan-chien lived and taught in western Hunan, his contemporary and possibly his student, I-hsüan 义玄 (died 866), was opening his school in the north—in the western part of modern Hopei. His school was known as the Lin-chi School, which in the next two centuries became the most influential school of Ch'an.

The greatness of I-hsüan seems to lie in his emphatic recognition of the function of intellectual emancipation as the real mission of Chinese Ch'an. He said: "The mission of Bodhidharma's coming to the East was to find a man who would not be deceived by men." "Here in my place, I have not a single truth to give you. My work is only to free men from their bondage, to heal their illness, and to beat the ghosts out of them." "Inwardly and outwardly, do try to kill everything that comes in your way. If the Buddha be in your way, kill the Buddha. If the Patriarchs be in your way, kill the Patriarchs. If the *Arahats* be in your way, kill them. If your father and mother be in your way, kill them too…. That is the only path to your liberation, your freedom."

"Be independent, and cling to nothing… Even though Heaven and Earth are turned upside down, I doubt not. Even though all the Buddhas appear before my eyes, I have not the slightest gladness at heart. Even though the hell-fire of all the three underworlds burst open before me, I have not the slightest fear."

"Recognize yourself! Wherefore do you seek here and seek there for your Buddhas and your *bodhisattvas*? Wherefore do you seek to get out of the three worlds? O ye fools, where do you want to go?"

All this from Hsüan-chien and I-hsüan, written in the plain language (pai-hua 白话) of the people, is Chinese Ch'an, which, I repeat, is no Ch'an at all.

But the pious Buddhists insist on telling us that all this was not naturalism or nihilism and was certainly not meant to be iconoclastic! They tell us that those great masters never intended to convey the sense which their plain and profane words seem to convey. They, we are told, talked in the language of Zen, which "is beyond the ken of human understanding!"

The Development of the Method of Ch'an

The age of Ch'an as an epoch in the history of Chinese thought covered about 400 years—from about A.D. 700 to 1100. The first century and a half was the era of the great founders of Chinese Ch'an—the era of dangerous thinking, courageous doubting, and plain speaking. All authentic documents of that period show that the great masters, from Shên-hui and Ma-tsu to Hsüan-chien and I-hsüan, taught and spoke in plain and unmistakable language and did not resort to enigmatic words, gestures, or acts. Some of the famous enigmatic answers attributed to Ma-tsu and his immediate disciples were undoubtedly very late inventions.

But as the Ch'an schools became respectable and even fashionable in intellectual and political circles, there arose monks and lay dilettantes who talked and prattled in the language of the Ch'an masters without real understanding and without conviction. There was real danger that the great ideas of the founders of the Ch'an schools were deteriorating into what has been called "*ch'an* of the mouth-corners" (*k'ou-t'ou ch'an* 口头禅). Moreover, Ch'an was rapidly replacing all other forms of Buddhism, and prominent Ch'an masters of the mountains were often called to head large city monasteries. They had to perform or officiate at many Buddhist rituals of worship demanded by the public or the State even though they might sincerely believe that there were no Buddhas or *bodhisattvas*. Were they free to tell their powerful patrons, on whom the institution had to rely for support, that "the Buddha was a murderer who had seduced many people into the pitfalls of the Devil"? Could there be some other subtle but equally thought-provoking way of expressing what the earlier masters had said outspokenly?

All these new situations, and probably many others, led to the development of a pedagogical method of conveying a truth through a great variety of strange and sometimes seemingly crazy gestures, words, or acts. I-hsüan himself was probably the first to introduce these techniques, for he was famous for beating his questioner with a stick or shouting a deafening shout at him. It was probably no accident that his school, the Lin-chi School, played most prominent part during the next hundred years in the development of the peculiar methodology of Ch'an instruction to take the place of plain speaking.

But this methodology with all its mad techniques is not so illogical and irrational as it has often been described. A careful and sympathetic examination of the comparatively authentic records of the Ch'an schools and of the testimony of contemporary witnesses and critics has convinced me that beneath all the apparent madness and confusion there is a conscious and rational method which may be described as a method of education by the hard way, by letting the individual find our things through his own effort and through his own ever-widening life-experience.

Broadly speaking, there are three stages or phases in this pedagogical method.

First, there is the basic principle which was stated as *pu shuo p'o* 不说破, "Never tell too plainly." It is the duty of the teacher never to make things too easy for the novice; he must not explain things in too plain language; he must encourage him to do his own thinking and to find out things for himself. Fa-yen 法演 (died 1104), one of the greatest teachers of Ch'an, used to recite these lines of unknown authorship:

> You may examine and admire the embroidered drake.
> But the golden needle which made it, I'll not pass on to you.

This is so important that Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200), the greatest Confucianist thinker and teacher of the twelfth century, once said to his students: "The school of Confucius and that of Lao-tzŭ and Chuang-tzŭ left no great successors to carry on the work of the founders. But the Ch'an Buddhists can always find their own successors, and that is due to the fact that they are prepared to run the risk of explaining

nothing in plain language, so that others may be left to do their own pondering and puzzling, out of which a real threshing-out may result." One of the great Ch'an masters often said: "I owe everything to my teacher because he never explained anything plainly to me."

Secondly, in order to carry out the principle of "never tell too plainly," the Ch'an teachers of the ninth and tenth centuries devised a great variety of eccentric methods of answering questions. If a novice should ask some such questions as "What is truth?" or "What is Buddhism?" the master would almost surely box him on the ear, or give him a beating with a cane, or retire into a stern silence. Some less rude teacher would tell the questioner to back to the kitchen and wash the dishes. Others would answer questions with seemingly meaningless or strikingly meaningful paradoxes.

Thus, when the master Wên-yen 文偃 (died 949), founder of the Yünmên School, was asked "What is the Buddha like?" he answered: "A dried stick of dung." (This is so profanely iconoclastic that Suzuki probably deliberately mistranslates it as "A dried-up dirt-cleaner," which, of course, is incorrect and meaningless.) Such an answer is not nonsensical at all; it harks back to the iconoclastic teachings of his spiritual grandfather, Hsüan-chien, who had actually said: "The Buddha is a dried piece of dung of the barbarians, and sainthood is only an empty name."

Thus Liang-chia 良价 (died 869), one of the founders of the Ts'aoshan-Tungshan School 曹山, 洞山, when asked the same question, said quietly: "Three *chin*斤 (about three pounds) of hemp," which, too, is not meaningless if one remembers the naturalistic thinking of some of the masters of the earlier era.

But the novice in all probability would not understand. So, he retires to the kitchen and washes the dishes. He is puzzled and feels ashamed of his failure to understand. After some time, he is told to leave the place and try his luck elsewhere. Here he begins the third stage of his education—the third and most important phase of the pedagogical method, which was called *hsing-chiao* 行脚 "traveling on foot."

Those critics who call the Ch'an method irrational and mystical and, therefore, "absolutely beyond the ken of human understanding," are men who fail to appreciate the great educational value of this third phase, which consists of sending the learner traveling from one hill to another, from one school to another, studying under one master and then another. Many of the famous Ch'an masters spent 15 or 20 or 30 years in traveling and studying under many well-known masters.

Let me cite what Chu Hsi said in deep appreciation of the value of "traveling on foot" in the Ch'an schools. The great leader of the Neo-Confucianist movement was sick in bed and was approaching his death, which came only a few months later. One of his favorite mature disciples, Ch'ên Chün 陈淳, had come to visit him and spend a few days at his school. One evening, Chu Hsi in his sickbed said to the visitor: "Now you must emulate the monk's method of *hsing-chiao* (traveling on foot). That will enable you to meet the best minds of the empire, to observe the affairs and conditions of the country, to see the scenery and topography of the mountains and rivers, and to study the historical traces of the rise and fall, peace and war, right and wrong, of the past and present governments. Only in that way may you see the truth in all its varied

respects…There was never a sage who knew nothing of the affairs of the world. There was never a sage who could not deal with novel and changing situations. There was never a sage who sat alone in meditation behind closed doors…"

Let us return to our traveling novice, who, as a monk, travels always on foot, carrying only a stick, a bowl, and a pair of straw sandals. He begs all the way for his food and lodging, often having to seek shelter in ruined temples, caves, or deserted houses by the roadside. He suffers the severities of nature and sometimes has to bear the unkindness of man.

He sees the world and meets all kinds of people. He studies under the great minds of the age and learns to ask better questions and have real doubts of his own. He befriends kindred souls with whom he discusses problems and exchanges views. In this way, his experience is widened and deepened, and his understanding grows. Then, one day, he hears a chance remark of a charwoman, or a frivolous song of a dancing girl, or smells the quiet fragrance of a nameless flower—and he suddenly understands! How true, "the Buddha was like a piece of dung!" And how true, "he is also like three pounds of hemp!" All is so evident now. "The bottom has dropped out of the bucket": the miracle has happened.

And he travels long distances back to his old master, and, with tears and with grandness at heart, he gives thanks and worships at the feet of his good teacher, who never made things easy for him.

This is what I understand as the pedagogical method of Chinese Ch'an. This was what Chu Hsi understood when he sang:

> Last night the spring floods swelled the water in the river.
> Today the huge ship floats, as if it were feather-weighted.
> What could not be pulled or pushed before,
> Now moves on freely in the middle of the river.

Was this Ch'an illogical and irrational and beyond our intellectual understanding? I shall let Fa-yen, the great Ch'an master of the eleventh century, answer this question. Fa-yen one day asked his audience, "What is the Ch'an in my place?" And he told this story, which both Nukariya and Suzuki have translated before, and which I now render as follows:

> There was a man who made his livelihood by being an expert burglar. He had a son who saw his father growing old and decided that he should learn a trade, so that he might support his parents in old age. One day the son said, "Father, teach me a trade." The father said, "Good."
>
> That night, the expert burglar took his son to a big house where he made an opening in the wall, and both entered the house and came to a large cabinet.
>
> The father opened the lock of the cabinet, and told his son to get inside. As soon as the son got in, the father closed the door of the cabinet and replaced the lock securely.
>
> The father now made quite a noise to arouse the people in the house. He then left the house by the same way he had come in, and went home.
>
> The men and women in the great house were aroused from their sleep. They searched the house and found the big hole in the wall. But nothing apparently had been stolen.
>
> Meanwhile, the boy in the locked cabinet was puzzled: "Why did father do this to me?" Then he realized that his problem was to get out. So, he imitated the sound of mice gnawing and tearing clothes. Very soon a lady heard the noises and told a maid to open the cabinet and look into it with a candle.

As soon as the cabinet was opened, the boy put out the light, pushed the maid away, and rushed to the hole in the wall. He got out and ran for his life.

He was pursued by the men from the house. On the way, he picked up a stone and threw it into a pond, making a noise as if a body had fallen into the water. The men stopped to search the pond for the burglar's body. The boy took a bypath and ran home.

When he saw his father, he shouted: "Father, why did you lock me in that cabinet?" The father said: "Don't ask silly questions. Tell me how you got out." When the son had told him how he escaped and got back, the father nodded his head and said: "Son, you have learned the trade."

"That," added the Master Fa-yen, "is Ch'an in my place."

That was Chinese Ch'an at the end of the eleventh century.

Chapter 23
Authority and Freedom in the Ancient Asian World

One of the thirteen lectures on "Tradition and Change" presented by the Columbia Broadcasting System over its Radio Network—an international symposium in honor of the two hundredth anniversary of Columbia University.

This is one of the four papers on man's ideas of society. My assigned topic is "Authority and Freedom in the Ancient Asiatic World." It should include the ancient empires of Babylonia and Assyria, of the Medes and the Persians, India and China.

But the tyranny of radio time and the unfortunate lack of literary material for reconstructing the social and political thinking of the ancient peoples of western and southwestern Asia have made it necessary for me to confine the scope of this paper to ancient China.

Even the ancient Chinese world is too big. I shall have to further limit myself to the historical period roughly from the eighth century B.C. to the early years of the Christian era.

From 800 B.C. down to the first unification of China in 221 B.C., China was in an age of warring states. This age of frequent wars and intense international strife was also the age of intellectual maturity, the classical age of Chinese thought and literature. It is to this age that we shall turn for a brief view of man's ideas of society and of the struggle between authority and freedom in the ancient Chinese world.

I propose to consider briefly these four phases of the social and political thinking of ancient China:

First, the fight against too much government.

Second, the rise of the educated commoner as an active participant in government.

Chapter Note: Man's Right to Knowledge. First Series: Tradition and Change. New York: H. Muschel, 1954. pp. 40–45.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_23, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

Third, the rise of the authoritarian state and its success in unifying China by military conquest.

Fourth, political stabilization after the downfall of the authoritarian state.

In an age of frequent wars, economic barriers, heavy taxation, and conscript service, it is not surprising that Chinese political thinking should begin with a philosophical protest against too much government, an anarchistic war-cry against too much restriction and interference. This protest came from the philosopher Lao-tze, of the sixth century B.C., who cried out in indignation:

> Why are the people starving? Because those above them eat up too much tax-grain: that is why they are starving. Why are the people hard to rule? Because those above them interfere too much: that is why they are hard to rule.
>
> There are more and more restrictions and taboos, but the people are becoming poorer than ever. More and more laws and ordinances are being promulgated, but there are more thieves and robbers than ever.

Therefore, says Lao-tze, let the rulers learn from "the Way of Heaven." "The Way of Heaven does nothing, yet there is nothing that remains undone." "All things become so of themselves: that is the Way of Heaven and of Nature, and that should be the way of government." So sang the wise man of old:

> I do nothing, and the people will of themselves be transformed.
> I love quietude, and the people will of themselves go straight.
> I do not interfere, and the people will of themselves be prosperous.

Do nothing (*wu-wei*), therefore, is his theory of government. "The best kind of government," says he, "is one whose existence is barely noticed by the people. The next is one which is beloved and praised. The next is one which is feared. And the next is one which is despised."

So, twenty-five centuries ago, Lao-tze was preaching the political theory that that government is best which governs least—a theory of non-interference, non-assertion, *laissez faire*.

This extremely negative political philosophy must be understood as a timely protest against too much government. And precisely because it was a timely protest of the age, it has had great influence over Chinese political thought and institutions throughout the centuries.

Confucius (551–479 B.C.), who once studied under Lao-tze, was a more practical thinker and made his great contribution to Chinese political development by his devotion to education. He was fond of describing himself as "one who is never satiated of learning and never tired of teaching men."

"Men," says Confucius, "are near to each other by nature: it is learning and practice that set them apart. Only the highest intelligence and the lowest stupidity cannot change." "With education, there will be no classes." That is his democratic philosophy of education based on the equal teachability of men.

The political significance of the educational movement led by Confucius and his school lies in the fact that they always conceived the objective of education as the cultivation of the individual for the service of society. In words of Confucius, it is "to cultivate one's self so that he may give peace and happiness to all the people."

As one who has a mission to give peace to the people, the scholar "must carry himself with a sense of shame"; "he must not seek to live at the expense of degrading his human dignity; he may at times even sacrifice his life in order to preserve his dignity."

One of his great disciples has best expressed this ideal: "The scholar must needs be big-hearted and perseverant, for his burden is heavy and his journey is long. Humanity is the burden he places on himself: isn't that a heavy burden? And death alone ends his toils: isn't that a long journey?"

Mencius, of the fourth century B.C., also often spoke of the scholar as having the moral responsibility of taking upon himself the burden of the world.

Confucius did not propound any original political theory, but he founded an educational system which taught men the arts of self-cultivation and public service and the sense of social responsibility, so that in time they might help to bring about a peaceful revolution in the shape of active participation in government by a larger and larger number of qualified commoners.

Thus far I have presented the "liberal" thinking of ancient China, ranging from the philosophical anarchism of Lao-tze to the democratic educational ideal of Confucius. I shall now pass on to speak of the rise of a great totalitarian state, and of its philosophy.

Ancient China, after 400 B.C., was undergoing tremendous changes. Most of the many small states, including those with a highly advanced civilization, had disappeared or were being encroached upon by the great powers, of which there were seven.

In the middle of the fourth century B.C., one of the seven great powers, the western state of Ch'in, was making itself into a most formidable militaristic state under an authoritarian political system heretofore unknown in Chinese history. In 360 B.C., this state undertook a drastic scheme of military, economic, and political reorganization under the leadership of a statesman known in history as Lord Shang. Its sole objective was to train a war-like nation and to achieve an industrial productivity to support its military power.

All high honors of the state were reserved for the military service and for achievements in war. Even the nobles of royal blood must be graded anew on the basis of military service. Nobles without military distinction were degraded to commoners. The objective is to create "a people that looks to warfare as a hungry wolf looks at a piece of meat." "If the only gate to riches and honor is battle, then when the people hear that there is war they will congratulate one another; at home and in the street, at their eating and drinking, all the songs they sing will be of war." "A ruler who can make the people delight in war will become the king of kings."

Equally important was the policy to promote the maximum increase of production in agriculture and textiles. Highest production in farming and weaving would be rewarded by exemption from conscript service. Idleness and private trading would be punished by forced labor.

To enforce the new laws, the population was organized into small groups of five or ten families each, and members of each group were required to watch over and report on each other. Successful exposure of crime through such spying and reporting was to be rewarded on the same scale as killing an enemy on the battlefield.

Shielding a criminal would be punished with the same penalty as surrendering to the enemy in war.

The whole system was to be based on the absolute certainty of all penalties and rewards. When the Crown Prince was found violating a law, his two tutors were held responsible and were punished by severe bodily torture. All public discussion of government policy, whether it be disapproval or even approval, was strictly forbidden. A government should tolerate no opposition and require no popular approval.

This militaristic and totalitarian system was so effective that the state of Ch'in actually became the greatest military power of the age and was able to carry on sustained wars for territorial expansion in all directions. In the course of a century, she was able to complete her war for the conquest of the Chinese world. By 221 B.C., the last of the great powers had fallen, and the King of Ch'in was proclaimed the first emperor of the first unified Chinese Empire.

In 213 B.C., 8 years after the unification of China, the imperial government carried out a most drastic policy of book burning and prohibition of private teaching. The gist of this policy was that "all history books not kept by the Imperial Historian shall be burned; that all books in the possession of private individuals shall be delivered to the local magistrates to be burned in their presence; that hereafter persons holding open discussions on the forbidden books shall be held liable to capital punishment; that all who uphold the authority of the ancients to criticize the present government shall be punished by death together with their families; …and that any one failing to burn his books within 30 days after the date of the decree, shall be punished by hard labor. Only books on medicine, divination, and agriculture are exempt from this act."

This totalitarian state, which was to last 10,000 generations, lasted only 15 years. The first emperor died in 210 B.C. In the next year, a great revolution, started by a few officers of conscript soldiers from the South, spread in a few months all over the country.

In 206 B.C., 3 years after the start of the revolution, the great Ch'in Empire was overthrown.

After a few years of struggle among the rival leaders of the revolution, China was once more unified under the Second Empire, the Empire of Han, founded by a revolutionary leader who came from the common people and knew what they wanted. When his revolutionary army triumphantly entered the capital city of the empire, he called a mass meeting of the elders of the people and declared to them that he knew their long suffering under the tyrannical rule of the Ch'in Empire and would abolish all its repressive laws. So he proclaimed that "hereafter only three simple laws shall prevail: namely, that manslaughter shall be punished by death, and that assault and theft shall be justly punished according to the facts of each case."

This early proclaimed policy to relieve the people from the authoritarian rule of too much government was consciously carried out by some of the great statesmen of the Han Empire.

In 201 B.C., the second year of the empire, a General Ts'ao, one of the great generals of the revolution, was made governor of the populous and economically advanced state of Ch'i on the eastern coast. He selected an old philosopher to be his

chief adviser. This old man was a follower of Lao-tze and told the Governor that the best way to govern this great state comprising 70 cities was to do nothing and give the people a rest. The Governor religiously carried out this advice throughout his 9 years of governorship. The people became prosperous, and his administration was rated the best in the empire. When he was appointed prime minister of the empire in 193 B.C., he again consciously practiced his philosophy on a national scale.

In 179 B.C., Wenti, a younger son of the founder of the empire became the third emperor and reigned 23 years; and his wife, the Empress Tou, continued to exercise some influence over her son and grandson for another period of 22 years. This emperor and his wife were both believers in Lao-tze's philosophy of "do nothing." The Empress was so fond of this philosophy that she made the *Book of Lao-tze* a required reading by all members of her own family and her husband's family.

It was during these decades of the reign of Wenti and his wise wife that the old practice of collective family responsibility for crime was abolished, punishment by bodily mutilation was abolished, internal transit duties on goods were abolished, the land tax was reduced to the almost unbelievable rate of one-thirtieth of the produce, and a determined effort was made to refrain from all warfare on the frontiers.

History tells us that these decades of deliberate experimentation with the philosophy of non-interference brought great prosperity to the people and wealth to the national treasury and gave the nation a chance to recuperate from the long years of war and revolution, and to learn to appreciate the real benefits of a vast, unified empire with no tariff walls, with no large standing army, and with little interference from the authorities of the government.

The first unified empire founded on militarism and totalitarian regimentation lasted 15 years. The Second Empire of Han founded by a people's revolution and stabilized by long decades of conscious practice of *laissez faire* lasted 400 years—from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. At the height of its power and glory, as a census of the year 2 A.D. shows, the 103 provinces of the empire had a total population of nearly 60 million people—the largest empire of the ancient world.

Chapter 24
Yung Wing: One Hundred Years After His Graduation

This speech, a tribute to Yung Wing's efforts to send Chinese students to the United States for schooling, was presented at Yale University on June 13, 1954.

Last year I was invited to take part in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of Yale-in-China.

Tonight I am once more honored by the Yale-in-China Association to take part in the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Dr. Yung Wing's graduation from Yale.

It is fitting and proper that this celebration should take place at Yale and be sponsored by the Yale-in-China Association. For Yung Wing's life, work and influence may very properly be described as a Yale-in-China movement in a truly historical sense. And our gathering here tonight may also be historically described as a commemoration, not of the 100th, but the 115th anniversary of the real and earliest beginning of the Yale-in-China movement.

The story began with the year 1839 when a Yale graduate, the Reverend Samuel Robbins Brown, was invited by the Morrison Educational Society of Macao to be the headmaster of its newly established school. In his first 2 years, Brown had only five Chinese lads, two of whom were said to have been picked up in the streets. In his third year, another boy named Yung Wing was added to the school.

Those six lads formed no mean start of the Yale-in-China movement. One of them was Wong Foon (Huang K'uan) who came with Yung Wing to America in 1847 and 2 years later was sent by his Scots patrons to Edinburgh, where he was the first Chinese to graduate in a Western medical school. After his return to China, he practiced medicine and surgery in Canton and became well known as "one of the greatest surgeons east of the Mediterranean." Another of the six was Tong Chik, better known as T'ang Ching-hsing, who became the founder and first Director-general of the China Merchants' Steamship and Navigation Company.

Chapter Note: Unpublished Script

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_24, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

Thus was begun the first Yale-in-China, first at Macao and afterward in Hong Kong. After serving 7 years, the Reverend Samuel Robbins Brown was forced by ill health to resign and return to America early in 1847. But before sailing, he invited his pupils to volunteer to go with him to America to complete their education there. Three boys responded: Yung Wing, Wong Foon and Wong Shing. They went with Brown and entered Monson Academy at Monson, Mass. Wong Shing soon returned to China because of poor health. Wong Foon left in 1849 for Scotland. Yung Wing alone remained and entered Yale College where he graduated in 1854,—1 year after the class of Andrew Dickson White who founded my Alma Mater, Cornell University, and 2 years after the class of Daniel Colt Gilman, founder and first President of Johns Hopkins University.

Returning to China in the winter of 1854–1855, Yung Wing found his mother country in the throes of a great rebellion—the Taiping Rebellion which had begun a few years before and was to last another decade after his return. After some employment in Canton and Hong Kong, Yung Wing went to Shanghai where the Protestant missionaries were carrying on a very active movement of translation of authoritative works of science into Chinese. The great Chinese scholar and mathematician Li Shan-lan was assisting Alexander Wylie in translating the untranslated books of Euclid's *Elements*, and J. M. F. W. Herschel's *Astronomy*. Li was also assisting Joseph Edkins in translating William Whewell's *Elementary Treatise on Mechanics*. Other learned missionaries were being assisted by other Chinese scholars in rendering other scientific works into Chinese. The method of such co-operative translations was for the foreign scholar to explain the text in oral Chinese to the Chinese scholar who then put it in the Chinese literary style.

Yung Wing came to know these men, but he took no part in this translation work. In all probability, such difficult and unsatisfactory methods of co-operative translation between foreign scholars who could not write Chinese and Chinese scholars who could not understand the language of the original work and of the foreign translator, must have set Yung Wing to some serious thinking and rekindled his life-long dream of sending Chinese youths to study in America and thereby to qualify themselves directly to introduce the new science of the West into China.

It was Li Shan-lan who in years later introduced Yung Wing to the great Chinese statesman Tseng Kuo-fan. In 1863, Viceroy Tseng invited Yung to visit him at Anking. The Taiping Rebellion was drawing to its end, and the Chinese statesmen were planning for the work of national reconstruction. Yung was asked to go to America to purchase machinery for a new government arsenal at Shanghai.

Yung Wing made the trip by way of Europe and Great Britain and bought the machinery in New England. The new arsenal was set up which soon developed into the famous Kiangnan Arsenal. At Yung's suggestion, a school was attached to it for the training of native mechanics. In later years, the Arsenal had a language school and a famous department of translation in which Chinese and Western scholars succeeded in translating over 200 works on science, engineering, history of the Western nations and international law.

Then in 1870, Yung Wing had the opportunity to present to Tseng Kuo-fan and other leaders his plan for sending Chinese youths to study in American schools and universities. The project was finally incorporated into a memorial which

Tseng and Li Hung-chang jointly presented to the throne. In 1871, the Imperial Court gave sanction to the project and the Viceroys Tseng and Li were commanded to carry out its details.

Thus was begun the Chinese Educational Mission, the brain-child of Yung Wing. Briefly, this project included these provisions:

1. 120 students were to be selected throughout the Empire, and were to be sent to America in 4 years at the rate of 30 students a year. It was a 4-year plan which, if successful, was to be continued indefinitely.
2. The students were to be of the age of 10–14 years.
3. They were to remain abroad for a period of 15 or 16 years, including grammar school, high school, college and "postgraduate courses and observations in European countries."
4. Chinese teachers were to accompany them to keep up their Chinese studies.
5. They were not to return on their own account. And on their return, they were to enter the services of the Chinese Government, and not to engage in private enterprise.
6. The funds for the maintenance of the students and the upkeep of the Chinese Educational Mission (estimated to total about 1,200,000 taels of silver) were to be supplied by the Imperial Customs Administration at Shanghai.

To these provisions may be added a seventh which Yung Wing adopted after consulting President Porter of Yale College and other educators: namely that the students were not to be kept together in one large group, but to be placed in small groups of two or three in the care of selected American families in the villages and towns of the Connecticut Valley.

The first group of 30 left China in August, 1872.
The second group of 30 left in June, 1873.
The third group of 30 left in September, 1874.
The last group of 30 left in October, 1875.

Owing to the conservatism of some of Yung Wing's Chinese colleagues and teachers, and to their strong criticisms of the students' free and independent ways of Americanized living and playing, the Chinese Educational Mission was ordered in June, 1881, to be abolished, and all its students were ordered to return to China. Death and expulsion had slightly diminished the number. About 105 returned to China in 1881.

Such was the tragic ending of Yung Wing's Chinese Educational Mission.

The late Professor William Lyon Phelps of Yale has devoted a whole chapter in his Autobiography to a most charming description of his "Chinese Schoolmates." Several of Yung Wing's boys have left records of their happy life at school and in the American homes of this region. They have also written about their bitter experiences on their enforced return to China.

We may now ask: Was Yung Wing's educational plan a failure? Wherein has it failed? Wherein has it achieved some success in spite of its abrupt ending? Was it a success in its long range of effects and influences in China?

Undoubtedly the premature recall of all the students was a fundamental cause of the failure of the Mission. The 1872 group had only 9 years in America. The 1873 group had only 8 years. The 1874 had only 7 years. And the last group of 1875 had only 6 years. Only very few of the boys had just completed their 4-year college education. Most of the later comers had barely finished high school. None of the First Hundred had postgraduate work.

Only three of them became distinguished leaders in their specialized profession. Jeme Tien Yau (Chan T'ien-yu) who had graduated from the Sheffield School at Yale in civil engineering in 1881, became the first Chinese engineer to build the Chinese Railway from Peking to Kalgan. Woo Yangtsang (Y. T. Woo) who after his return to China, had the good fortune to be sent out to London to study mining engineering at the Royal School of Mines, played an important role in the development of mining in China. The third man, Jann Tien-seong (Cheng T'ing-hsiang), was recalled in 1881, but ran back to the U.S. in 1883 to finish his engineering studies. He never returned to China, but became well known in New York as a consulting engineer, and was "one of the engineers who designed and erected the Brooklyn Bridge." He invented the "Jann's coupling" for railway cars, and many other mechanical devices.

Because their college training had been incomplete, the great majority of "the First Hundred" had to start life in China as interpreters and secretaries in government service where a knowledge of the English language was needed in dealing with foreigners. They had to wait many years before they could rise up in the long ladder of Chinese officialdom, and gradually, with the changing times, take up responsible positions in the Imperial Customs, in the mines, and in the newly expanded consular and diplomatic services.

Moreover, because they had left the country at a very young age, they were mostly deficient in the use of the Chinese literary language. The original plan of bringing Chinese teachers to keep up their Chinese studies was defeated when the boys had to be widely distributed among many American homes; and the Chinese Educational Mission building where they were to be taught Chinese lessons during their vacation time, came to be detested by the light-hearted boys who nicknamed it "the Hell House"!

None of the First Hundred wrote or published a book in Chinese, none translated a Western work into Chinese. They made little contribution to the intellectual life of China.

These were some of the aspects in which Yung Wing's plan seems to have failed. Bat as we now look back, 100 years after his graduation, and 82 years after the founding of the Chinese Educational Mission—and 73 years after the abrupt recall of the First Hundred,—we must realize that his dream has come true in its slow but far-reaching effects and influences in the life of the Chinese people.

First of all, to have secured the support of such great leaders as Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang for his scheme of educating Chinese youths in America was in itself a great success. It meant official recognition and imperial sanction; it meant social responsibility and civic and political opportunity for the foreign educated student. When the Yung Wing plan was first inaugurated in 1871–1872, there was

practically no response from North China and Central China to the call for students to be sent abroad. Only 20 % of the first two groups of 60 students came from regions outside of Canton. But the idea spread and 40 % of the last two groups of 60 were youths who came from the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhui.

It is interesting to note that the Autobiography of Hsu Jun (who was personally in charge of arrangements for the transportation of all the 120 students to America in 1872–1875) spoke of several students who, after their failure in the examination of 1875, were given financial support by their own families so that they could sail to America with the successful candidates.

In the second place, those students who were prematurely recalled, in spite of their incomplete education, did fill an important gap in the history of China's modernization, and they rendered on the whole a needed and quite credible service to China in the new navy, the Customs Administration, the mines, the railways, and the consular and diplomatic services. Their age was the era of China's greatest humiliation at the hands of the aggressive Powers of Europe and Asia. China suddenly realized that she urgently needed men of Western education and training in all her dealing with the foreign countries. And Yung Wing's men did their part in that transitional age, and a number of them arose to political and industrial prominence,—which rendered still greater respectability to the "returned student" and furthered the movement to send students abroad.

Thirdly, Yung Wing's First Hundred were in a true sense the pioneers, the vanguard of the 20,000 Chinese students who have in the last 50 or 60 years come to study in the American institutions of higher learning and research. Intellectual exodus, like all other forms of voluntary emigration, always follows the beaten track opened up by the early pioneers. Yung Wing's boys were recalled, but their friends and students continued to flock to New England and the Atlantic Coast of the U.S. and thence to spread out to other parts of the American Republic.

And, lastly, because of the great kindness the First Hundred of Chinese students received in their schools and colleges and the Christian homes of the Connecticut Valley, and because of the great respect and affection they always felt for Dr. Yung Wing, those early pioneer students—one of them is still living at the age of 94,—never forgot their beloved leader and master, nor the wonderful days of the Chinese Educational Mission.

So, when in 1908, the U.S. Government proposed to remit the "surplus" portion of Boxer Indemnity Fund, it was Liang Tung-yen,—one of the Yung Wing boys at Hartford and Yale, one of the famous baseball players of the team of "Orientals,"—who, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, conducted the negotiations for the remission. It was during the negotiation that the Chinese Government volunteered the pledge to use the fund for educating Chinese students in America. It was Tang Shao-yi, another of the First Hundred, who was the Special Envoy to come to Washington to thank the U.S. Government for the return of the Indemnity. It was Tong Kai-son (T'ang Kuo-an), another of Yung's boys, who helped to found the Tsing Hua College in Peking for the preparation of Chinese youths to be sent to America, and who accompanied the first group of 47 selected students to the United States in 1909. He became the first President of Tsing

Hua College which later developed into one of the greatest universities in modern China.

And when in 1909 an office was set up in Washington, D.C. for the administration of the Indemnity students, the man who established that office was my old friend and colleague, Yung Kwai, nephew of Yung Wing and one of the 1873 group. And that office was once more named "the Chinese Educational Mission"—in remembrance of the early C.E.M founded by Yung Wing at Hartford, Conn., in 1872.

Of the over 20,600 Chinese students that have studied in American institutions during that last 100 years, more than 2,000—that is, 10% of the total—have been holders of Tsing Hua scholarships or partial scholarships administered by the New Chinese Educational Mission.

Dr. Yung Wing died in April 1912, 3 months after the founding of the Chinese Republic, and 3 years after the re-establishment of the Chinese Educational Mission in Washington. And the memory and influence of Yung Wing and his dream plan have lived on, not only in the 2,000 students of the new Chinese Educational Mission, but also in the lives of all the 20,000 students who in the last hundred years have followed his footsteps to study in this country and who on their return have served their mother country in their respective callings and have played their roles in the building of a new China dimly but devotedly envisioned by Yung Wing a century ago.

Chapter 25
The Right to Doubt in Ancient Chinese Thought

This paper was read at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Far Eastern Association in 1954.

Editor's note.—This paper was sent to this Journal for publication quite a long time ago, after having been read at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Far Eastern Association in 1954. Dr. Hu had hoped to elaborate and document the article. Despite the fact that this was never done, it has been decided to publish the paper because of the importance of the topic and because it represents a fundamental aspect of the late Dr. Hu's thinking. Dr. Hu's attitudes on this question are discussed somewhat fully as part of his article, "The Scientific Spirit and Method in Chinese Philosophy," in Charles A. Moore, ed., *Philosophy and Culture—East and West* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1962), pp. 199–222.

The late Professor Carl Becker of Cornell University once told me that he had on the door of his office this quotation from the Confucian *Analects* (论语): "Hui gives me no assistance. There is nothing that I say which does not please him."

Hui was Yen Hui (颜回), the most gifted student of Confucius. The Master on many occasions had no hesitation in regarding Yen Hui as his best student. Yet, he had this one grievance against him: Yen Hui was pleased with everything the Master said—and never questioned or doubted what he said. Therefore, said Confucius, "Hui gives me no assistance." Becker was so impressed by this passage that he had it posted on the door of his office for all his students to read.

What Confucius expected of his favorite students was the exercise of the right to doubt, to question, and not to be pleased or satisfied with whatever a great master or authority might say. Confucius himself fully exemplified this right to doubt in his teaching. On several occasions, he expressed satisfaction that his students were able to "come back" at him and to "stir me up."

Chapter Note: Philosophy East and West. Jan., 1963. Vol. 12. No. 4. pp. 295–300.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_25, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

One of the burning questions of the time was the religious question as to whether dead people had knowledge and feelings. The basic idea underlying the ancient rites of burying expensive utensils and even living human beings with the dead was the belief that a man might retain knowledge and feelings after death. Confucius and his school were quite definite in advocating the use of "token utensils" (*ming ch'i*, 明器), such as "clay carriages and straw effigies," for burial. "What a pity," said Confucius, "that the dead should be expected to use the real objects intended for the living! Would that not be tantamount to killing human beings to be buried with the dead? It is inhuman even to make 'burial puppets' which are lifelike, for would that not be too close to using real human beings to accompany the dead?"

This question was fully discussed in the "Book of T'ankung (檀弓)," which is linguistically contemporaneous with the *Analects*. In the *Analects*, Confucius took an explicitly humanistic and agnostic stand on the question. When a student asked how to serve the gods and the spirits, Confucius said: "We have not yet learned how to serve man; how can we serve the ghosts?" The same student then asked, "What is death?" The Master said: "We do not know life; how do we know death?"

On another occasion, he said to the same student: "Yu (由), shall I teach you what it is to know? To say that you know when you do know, and that you do not know when you do not know—that is knowledge."

This Confucian skepticism was no denial of the possibility of all knowledge, but a frank admission that there are things which we do not or cannot know. It was an assertion of the right to doubt—to maintain an attitude of courageous doubt even in matters traditionally regarded as sacred or sacrosanct.

This seemingly harmless agnosticism was probably more revolutionary than we can now realize. Probably it was meant to be an intellectual veil or shield for a denial of human intelligence after death, and a denial of the existence or reality of all gods, spirits, and ghosts. And probably it was a shield for the more radical naturalistic conception of the universe, as already taught by Lao Tzu (老子) and apparently accepted by Confucius—a conception of the universe in which Nature (*t'ien*, 天) does nothing and yet leaves nothing undone, and in which the gods and the spirits play no role and exert no influence.

In the *Book of Mo Tzu* (墨子), it was definitely recorded that a follower of the school of Confucius actually maintained that there were no gods or spirits. And Confucius himself not only actually used the phrase "government by doing nothing," but also said, "What does Heaven (*t'ien*, 天) say? All seasons go on and all things grow. What does Heaven say?" And it must be remembered that the naturalistic conception of the universe was eloquently propounded by such an influential Confucian thinker as Hsün Tzu (荀子) in the third century B.C., who said: "The course of Nature (*t'ien*) is constant. It does not exist for a benevolent ruler like Yao, nor does it cease to work for a despotic ruler like Chieh."

In short, it was the spirit of doubt—of what Goethe called "creative doubt"—which initiated, inaugurated, and animated the classical age of Chinese thought, the age of Lao Tzu and Confucius, down to Mencius (孟子), Chuang Tzu (庄子), Hsün Tzu, and Han-fei (韩非).

Lao Tzu doubted almost everything: he doubted the benevolence of Heaven and postulated a naturalistic universe; he doubted the efficacy of war and resistance to evil and taught five centuries before Jesus of Nazareth the doctrine that he who resists not is irresistible; he doubted the usefulness of too many laws and too much government, and taught a political philosophy of *wu-wei* (无为), of doing nothing, of non-interference, of *laissez faire*; he doubted the utility of all the artificiality and over-refinement of civilization and advocated a return to the simplicity of the state of Nature, in which human inventions "that multiplied the power of man by ten times or a hundred times" shall not be used and man will discard all writing and restore the use of the knotted cords.

Confucius doubted the survival of human intelligence after death and taught man to be intellectually honest and to be contented with services to man. He also doubted the validity of class distinctions and taught a democratic philosophy of education, that men are near to each other by nature, that only practice sets them apart, and that "with education there will be no classes."

Of the great founders of Chinese classical thought, Mo Tzu was the exception that proved the rule. Mo Tzu doubted the doubters, and wanted to restore faith and belief in the traditional religion of the people—the religion of gods and spirits. He believed that all evil came from doubt, from freedom of thought and belief, especially from diversity in standards of right and wrong. Therefore, Mo Tzu taught the authoritarian doctrine of "Upward Unification" or "Upward Conformity" (*shang t'ung*, 尚同) of right and wrong—that "what those above believe to be right must be accepted as right by all those below and that what those above regarded as wrong must be regarded by all those below as wrong." And the people, hearing of any wrong notion or conduct, must not fail to report it to the authority above. This was called the doctrine of "Upward Unification," which sounds alarmingly similar to what is now more eulogistically termed "democratic centralism."

Mo Tzu's religion of Upward Unification did not exterminate all doubters. The age of Yang Chu (杨朱), Mencius, Hui Shih (惠施), Chuang Tzu, and Hsün Tzu testified that the torch of creative doubt was carried on undimmed and undiminished throughout the fourth and third centuries B.C. To quote two of these great doubters, Mencius and Chuang Tzu: Mencius, the democratic philosopher who believed in the goodness of the nature of man, said: "The great man is he who cannot be corrupted by wealth and honors, cannot be budged by poverty and lowliness, and cannot be bent by power and authority." And Chuang Tzu, the greatest skeptic of all skeptics, declared: "Even though the entire world sings my praise, I am not a bit more persuaded. Even though the entire world condemns me, I am not a bit more dissuaded."

It was this spirit of courageous doubt which survived the military conquest, the totalitarian regime, the book-burning, and the great persecution of private teaching under the Ch'in Empire in the last decades of the third century B.C., and which survived and blossomed in the post-classical age of Han (汉) thought—most notably in the critical philosophy of the great Wang Ch'ung (王充) (A.D. 27–100).

Wang Ch'ung was probably the greatest doubter in the entire history of Chinese thought. He, like Lao Tzu, doubted almost everything, including Confucius, Mencius, and the fundamental beliefs of the State-patronized religion of Han Confucianism. He left some 84 essays, which he called *Lun-heng* (论衡), literally meaning "Essays of Weighing and Measuring," that is, "Essays in Criticism." He says of these essays, "These scores of essays can be summed up in one sentence: *I hate untruth*."

This ends my brief paper on "The Right to Doubt in Ancient Chinese Thought." In conclusion, I would like to cite a challenging passage from Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette, who, in reviewing Dr. Wing-tsit Chan's (陈荣捷) *Religious Trends in Modern China*, has raised this challenging question:

> Why is it that, of the advanced cultures upon which the West has impinged in the past four hundred and fifty years, that of China has suffered the greatest disintegration? Of the high civilizations, namely, those of the Muslim world, of India, of the smaller Buddhist countries, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, …and Outer Mongolia, of Japan and of China, that of China has undergone the most profound and sweeping changes. Where are the causes to be found? Are they in the older civilization of China? Can it be that the responsibility must be laid at the door of Confucianism and the manner in which it was inculcated and perpetuated, especially after the T'ang [618–907] or must the reason be sought elsewhere?

I shall attempt to offer an answer to Latourette's question as the conclusion to this paper.

I presume that by "the most profound and sweeping changes" Latourette did not mean what has been going on in continental China during the past few years, which certainly are not voluntary changes, but temporary barbarization brought about by military conquest.

If by those changes he meant the voluntary changes which have come about, first very slowly and only in the last half-century very rapidly, throughout the 400 years since the first coming of the Portuguese trader and missionary—then my answer is: The causes are to be sought and found in the thought and civilization of China, and in particular in what I have here discussed as the spirit of doubt, which has ingrained itself in the Chinese mentality ever since the days of Lao Tzu and Confucius. This spirit of doubt has always manifested itself in every age in a critical examination of our own civilization and its ideas and institutions. Such self-critical examination of one's own civilization is the prerequisite without which no "profound and sweeping" cultural changes are ever possible in any country with an old civilization. All such great and fundamental changes in the history of China—whether they be the result of China's own reformers or the natural outcome of China's coming into long contact with a foreign culture—have always been brought about by a critical examination of the older civilization and a profound dissatisfaction with its institutions.

Let us remember how sweepingly Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu criticized and condemned the civilization of their own times. Let us remember how zealously Confucius and almost all the Confucians upheld the utopian social and political ideas of the Golden Age in remote antiquity as the criteria by which to compare and criticize their own age.

And, leaving out the great founders of Chinese Buddhism in the third and fourth centuries A.D., let us remember how the early Chinese Christians like Hsü Kuang-ch'i (徐光启) and his friends thought that their small Christian community in seventeenth-century China was comparable to the best society of the great Three Dynasties. And let us remember the early admirers of the West—from Wang T'ao (王韬) down to K'ang Yu-wei (康有为)—they, too, were thinking that the modern civilization of the West, in the words of Wang T'ao, "embodied the best ideals of our classical antiquity."

And, needless to add, the leaders of the intellectual and cultural renaissance of the last 60 years have been men who knew their own cultural heritage intimately but also critically, and who had the moral and intellectual courage to criticize and condemn its weaknesses and shortcomings.

It is therefore the Chinese spirit of doubt and self-criticism which has made possible those voluntary though often "profound and sweeping" cultural changes in China. And I may add that it is the very absence of this tradition of doubt and self-criticism which has made such changes impossible in practically all those other Asian countries mentioned by Latourette in his review.

… …

Chapter 26
The Scientific Spirit and Method in Chinese Philosophy

Lecture given to general audience during the Third East-west Philosophers' Conference held at the University of Hawaii, July, 1959.

I

In the course of the past work in East-west philosophy, the question has been raised as to whether there was science in the East, and why the East developed little or no science.

To the first question, some of the answers seem definitely in the negative. "So the West generated the natural sciences, as the East did not," said Professor Wilmon Henry Sheldon.[1] And Professor Filmer S. C. Northrop said, "There is very little science [in the East] beyond the most obvious and elementary information of the natural history type."[2]

To the second question as to why there was very little or no science in the East, the answers vary. But the most challenging and provocative answer has come from Northrop, who declares, "A culture which admits only concepts by intuition is automatically prevented from developing science of the Western type beyond the most elementary, inductive, natural history stage."[3] As defined by Northrop, concepts by

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Chapter Note: Charles A. Moore, ed., The Chinese Mind: Essentials of Chinese Philosophy and Culture. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1962. pp. 104–131.

[1] "Main Contrasts Between Eastern and Western Philosophy," in Charles A. Moore, ed., *Essays in East-west Philosophy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1951), p. 291.

[2] "The Complementary Emphases of Eastern Intuitive and Western Scientific Philosophy," in Charles A. Moore, ed., *Philosophy—East and West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944), p. 212.

[3] *Ibid*.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_26, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

intuition are those "which denote, and the complete meaning of which is given by, something which is immediately apprehended."[4] This is Northrop's theory:

> Formal reasoning and deductive science are not necessary if only concepts by intuition are used in a given culture. If what science and philosophy attempt to designate is immediately apprehended, then obviously all that one has to do in order to know it is to observe and contemplate it. The methods of intuition and contemplation become the sole trustworthy modes of inquiry. It is precisely this which the East affirms and precisely why its science has never progressed for long beyond the initial natural history stage of development to which concepts by intuition restrict one.[5]

This theory is concisely expressed in these words "…the East used doctrine built out of concepts by intuition, whereas Western doctrine has tended to be constructed out of concepts by postulation."[6]

I have no intention to go into the details of this Northropean theory, which must have been familiar to us who have followed our philosopher-friend all these 20 years.

I only wish to point out that this theory of bifurcation of East and West is unhistorical and untrue as far as the intellectual history of the East is concerned.

In the first place, there is no race or culture "which admits only concepts by intuition." Indeed, there is no man who "admits only concepts by intuition." Man is by nature a thinking animal, whose daily practical needs compel him to make inferences for better or for worse, and he often learns to make better and surer inferences. It has been truly said that inference is the business man never ceases to engage in. And, in making inferences, man must make use of all his powers of perception, observation, imagination, generalization and postulation, induction, and deduction. In that way, man develops his common sense, his stock of empirical knowledge, his wisdom, his civilization and culture. And, in the few centers of continuous intellectual and cultural tradition, man, of the East and of the West, in the course of time, has developed his science, religion, and philosophy. I repeat, there is no culture "which admits only (the so-called) concepts by intuition," and which "is automatically prevented from developing science of the Western type."

In the second place, I wish to point out that, in attempting to understand the East and the West, what is needed is a historical approach, a historical attitude of mind, rather than a "technical terminology for comparative philosophy." Northrop includes among his examples of "concepts by postulation" these items: Centaurs,[7] the opening sentence of the Fourth Gospel, the concept of God the Father, the Christianity of St. Paul, of St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas,[8] as well as the atoms of Democritus, the atomic models of Bohr's and Rutherford's classical atomic physics,[9] and the

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[4] *Ibid*., p. 173.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 223.

[6] F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1946), p. 448.

[7] *Philosophy—East and West*, p. 183.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 216.

[9] *Ibid*., p. 183.

space-time continuum of Einstein's physics.[10] Surely, one can find a thousand imaginary concepts in the mythological and religious literature of India and China that can compare with the Greek concept of "Centaurs." And, surely, one can point to many scores of religious ideas in India and China that can compare with the concept of God contained in the first sentence of the Fourth Gospel.[11] Are we not justified in calling a halt to such "bifurcating" terminology that tends to emphasize a difference between East and West which historically does not exist?

I would like very much, therefore, to present here what I mean by the historical approach to the comparative study of philosophy. Briefly, the historical approach means that all past differences in the intellectual, philosophical, and religious activities of man, East and West, have been historical differences, produced, conditioned, shaped, grooved, and often seemingly perpetuated by geographical, climatic, economic, social and political, and even individual or biographical factors, all of which are capable of being studied and understood historically, rationally, and intelligently. Through this historical approach, patient and fruitful studies and researches can then be conducted, always seeking to be understood, never merely to laugh, or to cry, or to despair. It may be that, through this historical approach, we may find that, after all, there are more similarities than differences in the philosophies and religions of East and West; and that whatever striking differences have existed are no more than differences in the degree of emphasis brought about by a peculiar combination of historical factors. It may be that, through this historical approach, we may better understand the rise and rapid development of what has been called "science of the Western type"—not as an isolated or exclusive creation of any chosen people, but only as the natural product of an unusually happy combination of many historical forces. It may be that, as a result of patient historical researches, we may better understand that none of those historical forces, nor a combination of them, will ever "automatically prevent" or permanently incapacitate any race or culture from learning, adopting, developing—and even excelling in—the intellectual activities historically initiated and developed by any other race.

To say that any culture "is automatically prevented from developing science of the Western type" is to despair prematurely. But to seek to understand what historical forces have conspired to give the nations of Europe the glory of leading the entire world by at least fully 400 years in the development of modern science, and, on the other hand, what other historical forces or what combinations of such forces have been largely responsible for retarding or even crushing such scientific development by any race or culture throughout historic times, not excepting the

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[10] *Ibid*., p. 185.

[11] Northrop may be interested to know that the "Logos" in the opening sentence of the Fourth Gospel has been translated "*Tao*"—the same *Tao* as appears in the first sentence of the *Lao Tzu* (*Tao-te ching*). A scholar trained in modern linguistics will probably translate "*Logos*" as "*ming*" (the Word)—the same "*ming*" which appears in the second sentence of the *Lao Tzu* and which is erroneously translated as "the name," as quoted by Northrop. *Ibid*., p. 204.

Graeco-Roman-Christian culture throughout the Middle Ages—that would be a legitimate ambition not unworthy of such a learned assembly of philosophers and historians of philosophy.

II

It is in the direction of suggesting some such historical approach to comparative philosophy that I have prepared this paper with the rather immodest title: "The Scientific Spirit and Method in Chinese Philosophy."

I have deliberately left out the scientific *content* of Chinese philosophy, not merely for the obvious reason that content seems so insignificant compared with the achievement of Western science in the last four centuries, but also because I am of the opinion that, in the historical development of science, the scientific spirit or attitude of mind and the scientific method are of far more importance than any practical or empirical results of the astronomer, the calendar-reformer, the alchemist, the physician, or the horticulturist.

This point of view has been eloquently presented by Dr. James B. Conant, former President of Harvard University, and a first-rank scientist in his own right, in his Lectures, *On Understanding Science*. Let me, therefore, quote him:

> Who were the precursors of those early investigators who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries set the standards for exact and impartial inquiries? Who were the spiritual ancestors of Copernicus, Galileo and Vesalius? Not the casual experimenter or the artful contrivers of new mechanical devices who gradually increased our empirical knowledge of physics and chemistry during the Middle Ages. These men passed on to subsequent generations many facts and valuable methods of attaining practical ends but not the spirit of scientific inquiry.
>
> For the burst of new ardor in disciplined intellectual injury we must turn to a few minds steeped in the Socratic tradition, and to those early scholars who first recaptured the culture of Greece and Rome by primitive methods of archaeology. In the first period of the Renaissance, the love of dispassionate search for the truth was carried forward by those who were concerned with man and his works rather than with inanimate or animate nature. During the Middle Ages, interest in attempts to use the human reason critically and without prejudice, to probe deeply without fear and favor, was kept alive by those who wrote about human problems. In the early days of the Revival of Learning, it was the humanist's exploration of antiquity that came nearest to exemplifying our modern ideas of impartial inquiry….
>
> Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, and Erasmus, far more than the alchemists, must be considered the precursors of the modern scientific investigator. Likewise, Rabelais and Montaigne who carried forward the critical philosophic spirit must be counted, it seems to me, among the forerunners of the modern scientists.[12]

I believe that the position taken by President Conant is essentially correct. It is interesting to note that he gave his lectures a subtitle: "An Historical Approach."

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[12] James B. Conant, *On Understanding Science* (New York: Mentor Books, 1951), pp. 23–24. See also, Conant, *Science and Common Sense* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), pp. 10–13.

From this historical standpoint, "the love of dispassionate search for the truth," the "interest in attempts to use the human reason critically and without prejudice, to probe deeply without fear and favor," "the ardor in disciplined intellectual inquiry," "the setting of standards for exact and impartial inquiry"—these are characteristics of the spirit and method of scientific inquiry. It is these aspects of the scientific spirit and method, as they are found in the intellectual and philosophical history of China, that will form the main body of my paper.

III

To begin with, there was undoubtedly a "Socratic tradition" in the intellectual heritage of classical China. The tradition of free question and answer, of free discussion, independent thinking, and doubting, and of eager and dispassionate search for knowledge was maintained in the school of Confucius (551–479 B.C.). Confucius often described himself as one who "learns without satiety and teaches without being wearied," and as one who "loves antiquity and is earnest in seeking to know it."[13] On one occasion, he spoke of himself as one "who is so eager to know that he forgets to eat, whose cares are lost in moments of rapturous triumph, unmindful of the coming of old age."

That was the man who founded and molded the orthodoxy of the Chinese intellectual life of the past twenty-five centuries. There was much in Confucius that reminds us of Socrates. Like Socrates, Confucius always professed that he was not a "wise man" but a man who loved knowledge. He said: "He who knows does not rank with him who loves knowledge; and he who loves knowledge does not rank with him who really delights in it."

An interesting feature in the Confucian tradition is a deliberate encouragement of independent thinking and doubt. Thus Confucius spoke of his most gifted student, Yen Hui, "Hui is no help to me: he is always satisfied with what I say." But he also said, "I often talk to Hui for a whole day, and he, like a dullard, never raises an objection. But when he is gone and I examine his private life, I find him fully capable of developing [my ideas]. Hui is no dullard." Confucius apparently wanted no docile disciples who would feel pleased with everything he said. He wanted to encourage them to doubt and raise objections. This spirit of doubt and questioning was best shown in Mencius, who openly declared that to accept the whole *Book of History* as trustworthy is worse than to have no *Book of History* at all, and that, of the essay "Wu-ch'eng" (a section of *The Book of History*), he would accept no more than two or three (bamboo) pages. Mencius also suggested a free and independent attitude of mind as a necessary prerequisite to the understanding of *The Book of Odes* (*Shih ching*).

[13] Editor's note: Because of serious illness and death of Dr. Hu it has been impossible to provide complete references for some of his quotations from classical texts.

The best-known Confucian dictum is: "Learning without thinking is labor lost; thinking without learning is perilous." He himself, however, seemed to be always inclined to the side of learning. He said of himself: "I have often spent a whole day without food and a whole night without sleep—to think. But it was of no use. It is better to study." "Study as if life were too short and you were on the point of missing it." "He who learns the truth in the morning may die in the evening without regret." That was China's Socratic tradition.

Intellectual honesty was an important part of this tradition. "Yu," said Confucius to one of his students, "shall I tell you what knowledge is? To hold that you know a thing when you know it, and to hold that you do not know when you really do not know: that is knowledge." When on another occasion the same student asked Confucius how to serve the spirits and the gods, Confucius said, "We have not yet learned to serve men, how can we serve the spirits?" The questioner then asked about death, and the Master said, "We do not yet know life, how do we know death?" This was not evading the questions; it was an injunction to be intellectually honest about things one does not really know. Such an agnostic position about death and the gods and spirits has had lasting influence on Chinese thought in subsequent ages. That, too, was China's Socratic tradition.

In recent decades, doubt has been raised about the historicity of the man Lao Tzu (or Lao Tan) and about the authenticity and the dating of the ancient book known as *The Book of Lao Tzu*. But I, for one, still believe that Confucius was at one time a student of and an apprentice to the older philosopher, Lao Tzu, whose influence in the direction of a naturalistic conception of the universe and of a *laissez-faire* (*wu-wei*) philosophy of government can be observed in the thinking of Confucius himself.

To have postulated a naturalistic view of the universe at so early a date (the sixth century B.C.) was truly revolutionary. The ancient Chinese notion of *T'ien* (Heaven) or *Ti* (Supreme God), as represented in the songs and hymns of *The Book of Odes*, was that of a knowing, feeling, loving, and hating supreme ruler of men and the universe. And the fate of men was also supposed to be in the hands of all kinds of gods and spirits. In place of such an anthropomorphic deity or deities, an entirely new philosophic concept was proposed.

> There is something of indeterminate origin,
> And born before Heaven and Earth.
> Without voice and without body,
> It stands alone and does not change;
> It moves everywhere but is never exhausted.
> It may be regarded as the mother of the universe.
> I do not know its name:
> I call it "the Way" (*Tao*),
> And perforce designate it "the Great" (*ta*).

So, the new principle was postulated as the Way (*Tao*), that is, a process, an all-pervading and everlasting process. The Way becomes so of itself (*tzu jan*), and all things become so of themselves.

"The Way (*Tao*) does nothing, yet it leaves nothing undone." That is the central idea of this naturalistic conception of the universe. It became the cornerstone of a political theory of non-activity, non-interference, *laissez faire* (*wu-wei*). "The best ruler is one whose existence is scarcely noticed by the people." And the same idea was developed into a moral philosophy of humility, of non-resistance to evil and violence. "The supreme good is likened to water which benefits all things and resists none." "The weak and yielding always wins over the hard and strong." "There is always the Great Executioner that executes. [That is the great Way, which does nothing but leaves nothing undone.] To do the executing for the Great Executioner is like doing the chopping for the master carpenter. He who does the chopping for the master carpenter rarely escapes injuring his own hand."

Such was the naturalistic tradition formed by Lao Tzu, the teacher of Confucius. But there was a fundamental difference between the teacher and his student. Confucius was a historically minded scholar and a great teacher and educator, whereas Lao Tzu was a nihilist in his conception of knowledge and civilization. The ideal utopia of Lao Tzu was a small state with a small population, where all the inventions of civilization, such as ships and carriages "which multiplied human power by ten times and a hundred times are not to be put in use; and where the people would restore the use of knotted cords instead of writing!" "Always let the people have no knowledge, and therefore no desires." How different is this intellectual nihilism from Confucius' democratic philosophy of education, which says, "With education there will be no classes!"

But the naturalistic conception of the universe, as it was germinated in *The Book of Lao Tzu* and more fully developed in subsequent centuries, has been a most important philosophical heritage from the Classical Age. Naturalism itself best exemplifies the spirit of courageous doubt and constructive postulation. Its historical importance fully equals that of the humanist heritage left by Confucius. Whenever China has sunk deep into irrationality, superstition, and otherworldliness, as she has done several times in her long history, it was always the naturalism of Lao Tzu and the philosophical Taoists, or the humanism of Confucius, or a combination of the two, that would arise and try to rescue her from her sluggish slumbers.

The first great movement "to use the human reason critically and to probe deeply without fear and favor" in the face of the State Religion of the Han empire was such a combination of the naturalistic philosophy of Taoism and the spirit of doubt and intellectual honesty that was the most valuable heritage handed down from Confucius and Mencius. The greatest representative of that movement of criticism was Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27-ca. 100), author of a book of 85 essays called the *Lun heng* (Essays in Criticism).

Wang Ch'ung spoke of his own essays in these words, "One sentence sums up my essays: I hate falsehood." "Right is made to appear wrong, and falsehood is regarded as truth. How can I remain silent! When I read current books of this kind, when I see truth overshadowed by falsehood, my heart beats violently, and my brush trembles in my hand. How can I be silent! When I criticize them, I examine them in

my reasoning power, check them against facts, and show up their falsehood by setting up proofs."[14]

He was criticizing the superstitions and falsehoods of his age, of which the greatest and most powerful were the central doctrines of catastrophes (*tsai*) and anomalies (*i*), which the state religion of the Han empire, under the name of Confucianism, interpreted as warnings sent by a benevolent and all-seeing God (or Heaven) (*T'ien*) to terrify the rulers and governments so that they might repent and reform their acts of misrule. This religion of Han Confucianism had been formulated by a number of philosopher-statesmen of the second and first centuries B.C. who were justifiably worried by the real problem of how to deal with the unlimited power of the absolute monarchy in a vast unified empire, and who, consciously or semiconsciously, had hit upon the religious weapon and had worked out an elaborate theology of "reciprocal relationship between Heaven (*T'ien*) and the rulers of men" which seemed to have been able to hold the absolute sovereigns in awe throughout the several centuries of the Han dynasties.

This theology of the state religion of catastrophes and anomalies was best expressed by Tung Chung-shu (*ca*. 179-*ca*. 104 B.C.), who spoke like a prophet and with authority: "The action of man, when it reaches the highest level of good and evil [that is, when it becomes government action affecting vast numbers], will flow into the course of Heaven and Earth and cause reciprocal reverberations in their manifestations." "When a state is on the verge of ruin, Heaven will cause catastrophes [such as floods, famines, great fires] to befall earth as warnings to the ruler. When these are not hearkened to, Heaven will cause strange anomalies [such as sun eclipses, comets, unusual movements of planets] to appear to terrify the ruler into repentance. But, when even these anomalies fail to check his misrule, then ruin will come. All this shows that Heaven is always kind to the ruler and anxious to protect him from destruction." This theology of intimate reciprocal reverberations between Heaven and the rulers of men was supposedly based on an elaborate interpretation of the pre-Confucian *Book of History* and the Confucian *Ch'un ch'iu Annals* (*Spring and Autumn Annals*, which recorded numerous unusual events on earth and in the heavens, including 36 eclipses of the sun and five earthquakes between 722 and 481 B.C.). But the canonical Classics of established Confucianism were not enough for the support of this fanatic and fantastic theology, which had to be reinforced by an ever-increasing crop of apocryphal works known as the *wei* (woofs or interweaving aids to the Canon) and the *ch'an* (prophecies), which are collections of bits of empirical knowledge intermixed with hundreds of astrological fantasies.

It is a historical fact that this state religion of pseudo-Confucianism, at the height of its glory, was taken so seriously that many a prime minister was dismissed, and one was forced by the Emperor to commit suicide, all because of the belief in Heaven's warning in the form of catastrophes and abnormalities. One of the three great medieval religions was in full sway over the empire.

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[14] *Lun heng*, chap. 24.

It was against the basic idea of a reciprocal responsive relationship between a teleological God and the rulers of men that Wang Ch'ung was directing his main criticism. He was criticizing the theology of the established religion of the empire. The world view with which he set out to attack the current theology was the naturalistic philosophy of Lao Tzu and the Taoists. He said:

> The Way (*Tao*) of Heaven is that it does nothing and all things become so by themselves. If Heaven were to give warnings to men or mete out punishments, that would be "doing" things and not things "becoming so of themselves." … Those who hold that catastrophic and abnormal occurrences were purposeful warnings from Heaven are in reality degrading the dignity of the great Heaven by interpreting natural phenomena in terms of human action. They are therefore not convincing at all.[15]

For, he pointed out,

> Heaven is most exalted, and man is tiny. Man's place between Heaven and Earth is like that of a flea inside one's clothes, or that of an ant in an anthill… Surely it is absolutely impossible for man with his tiny body of seven feet to hope to bring about any response from the vast atmosphere of the great firmament.[16]

That is why Wang Ch'ung said that the doctrine of reciprocal response between Heaven and man was in reality "degrading the dignity of the great Heaven."

And he offered to prove that man and all things in the universe were never purposefully (*ku*) produced by Heaven and Earth, but were accidentally (*yu*) so, of themselves:

> It is wrong to hold that man is born of Heaven and Earth purposely. Certain fluids are combined, and man is born accidentally… All things are formed of fluid (*ch'i*), and each species reproduces itself… If it were true that Heaven purposely produced all living things in the world, then Heaven should make them all love each other and not allow them to injure or prey on each other… But there are tigers and wolves, poisonous snakes and insects, which prey on man. Can we say that it is the purpose of Heaven to create man for the use of those ferocious and poisonous animals?[17]

The first century of the Christian era was a period of calendar reform under the Han empire. And Wang Ch'ung made full use of the astronomical knowledge of his age to expose the folly of the current theological doctrine of catastrophes and anomalies as warnings from Heaven against the evil acts or policies of the rulers of the empire. He said:

> There is one eclipse of the sun in about forty-one or forty-two months, and there is one eclipse of the moon in about six months. Solar and lunar eclipses are regular occurrences which have nothing to do with government policies. And this is true of the hundreds of anomalies and thousands of calamities, none of which is necessarily caused by the action of the rulers of men.[18]

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[15] *Ibid*., chap. 42.

[16] *Ibid*., chap. 43.

[17] *Ibid*., chap. 14.

[18] *Ibid*., chap. 53.

But Wang Ch'ung more frequently cited facts of everyday experience as proofs or evidences in his numerous criticisms of the superstitions or falsehoods of his age. He offered five "tests" (*nien*) to prove that thunder was not the wrath of Heaven but only a kind of fire generated by the friction of the *yin* and *yang* fluids in the air. And he produced many a proof to support his thesis that there were no ghosts or spirits. One of those proofs is most ingenious and so far irrefutable: "If a ghost is the spirit of the dead man, then the ghost should be seen only in naked form and could not be seen with clothes on his body. For surely the cloth or silk can have no soul or spirit to survive destruction. How can it be explained that ghosts have never been seen in naked form, but always with clothes on?"[19]

So much for my favorite philosopher, Wang Ch'ung. I have told his story to show how the spirit of courageous doubt and intellectual honesty of the Classical Age of Chinese philosophy could survive centuries of oblivion and would arise to carry on the fight of human reason against ignorance and falsehood, of creative doubt and constructive criticism against superstition and blind authority. To dare to doubt and question without fear and favor is the spirit of science. "To check falsehoods against facts and to expose them by setting up proofs" constitute the procedure of science.

IV

The rest of my paper will be devoted to a brief interpretative report on a great movement in the history of Chinese thought which started out with the ambitious slogan of "investigation of the reason of all things and extension of human knowledge to the utmost" but which ended in improving and perfecting a critical method of historical research and thereby opening up a new age of revival of classical learning.

That great movement has been called the Neo-Confucian movement, because it was a conscious movement to revive the thought and culture of pre-Buddhist China, to go back directly to the humanist teaching of Confucius and his school, in order to overthrow and replace the much Indianized, and therefore un-Chinese, thought and culture of medieval China. It was essentially a Confucian movement, but it must be noted that the Neo-Confucian philosophers frankly accepted a naturalistic cosmology which was at least partially of Taoist origin and which was preferred probably because it was considered to be more acceptable than the theological and teleological cosmology of the "Confucian" religion since the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220). Here was another case of a combination of the naturalism of Lao Tzu and the philosophical Taoists and the humanism of Confucius once more rising in protest and rebellion against what were considered as the un-Chinese otherworldly religions of medieval China.

[19] Ibid., chap. 62.

This new Confucian movement needed a new logical method, a "*novum organum*," which it found in a little essay of post-Confucian origin entitled *The Great Learning*, an essay of about 1,700 Chinese characters. From that little essay, the founders of Neo-Confucianism picked out one statement which they understood to mean that "the extension of knowledge lies in the investigation of things." That soon became one of the central doctrines in the philosophy of the school of the Ch'eng brothers (Ch'eng Hao, also called Ch'eng Ming-tao, 1032–1085, and Ch'eng I, also called Ch'eng I-ch'uan, 1033–1107), especially as that philosophy was interpreted and reorganized by the great Chu Hsi (1130–1200). The investigation of things was further interpreted to mean "seeking exhaustively to investigate the reason (*li*) in all things."

What are "things"? According to the Ch'eng-Chu school, the scope of "things" was as extensive as Nature itself, including "every grass and every shrub" as well as "the height of the heavens and the thickness of the earth." But such a conception of the "things" to be investigated was beyond the capability of the philosophers, who were men of affairs and politicians as well as thinkers and teachers of men. They were more vitally interested in the moral and political problems of men than in the investigation of the reason or law in every grass or shrub. So Ch'eng I himself began to narrow down the scope of "things" to three categories: the study of books, the study of men of the past and the present, and the study of what is right in dealing with practical affairs. "Always begin with what is nearest to you," he said. And Chu Hsi, the greatest of the Sung (960–1279) philosophers and the most eloquent and untiring exponent of the philosophy of the investigation of the reason in all things, devoted his whole life to the study and exposition of the Classics of Confucianism. His Commentary on *The Four Books* (the "New Testament" of Neo-Confucianism) and his Commentaries on *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Changes* were accepted as the standard texts for seven centuries. The philosophy of the investigation of the reason in all things was now definitely applied to the limited field of classical studies.

Truly inspired by the "Socratic tradition" of Confucius, Chu Hsi worked out a set of principles on the spirit, the method, and the procedure of investigation and research. He said, "Investigate with an open mind. Try to see the reason (li) with an open mind. And with an open mind follow reason wherever it leads you." What is an open mind? Chu Hsi said, "Retreat one step back, and think it over: that is the open mind." "Do not press your own opinion too much forward. Suppose you put your own opinion aside for a while, and try to see what the other side has to say. Just as in hearing a case of litigation, the mind is sometimes prejudiced in favor of A, and you are inclined to seek evidences against his opponent B, or vice versa. It is better to step aside and calmly and slowly study what both sides have to say. Only when you can step aside can you see things more clearly. The Master Chang Tsai (also called Chang Heng-ch'ü, 1020–1077) said, 'Wash away your old ideas to let new ideas come in.' If you do not put aside your preconceived notions, where and how can you get new ideas?"

The Neo-Confucians of the eleventh century often stressed the importance of doubt in thinking. Chang Tsai had said, "The student must first learn to be able to

doubt. If he can find doubt where no doubt was found before, then he is making progress." As an experienced worker in textual and semantic researches, Chu Hsi was able to develop a more practical and constructive methodology out of the idea of doubt. He realized that doubt did not arise of itself, but would come only when a situation of perplexity or difficulty was present. He said: "I used to tell students to think and to seek points of doubt. But I have come to understand that it is not fruitful to start out with the intention of finding things to doubt. Just study with an open mind. After working hard at a text, there will be places which block your path and cause you perplexity. That's where doubts naturally come up for you to compare, to weigh, to ponder over." "The student [as it has been said] should learn to find doubt where no doubt had previously existed, but he should also learn to resolve the doubt after it has arisen. Then he is making real progress."

Doubt would arise in a situation in which conflicting theories simultaneously claimed credulity and acceptance. Chu Hsi told of his early doubts when he found that "the same passage in *The Analects* had been given widely different explanations by various commentators." "That," said he, "led me to doubt." How is doubt to be resolved? "By keeping one's mind open," he said. "You may have your own view, but it may not be the correct view. Do not hold it dogmatically. Put it aside for a while, and search for more and more instances to be placed side by side, so that they may be compared. Then you may see through and understand." In one of his letters to his friend and philosophical opponent, Lu Chiu-yuan (also called Lu Hsiang-shan, 1139–1193), he again used the example of the judge trying a case of litigation: "Just like the judge trying a difficult case, one should keep his mind open and impartial, and must not let his own inclination or disinclination influence his thinking. He can then carefully listen to the pleading of both sides, seek evidences for cross-checking, and arrive at a correct judgment of right and wrong."

What Chu Hsi was saying amounts to a method of resolving doubt by first suggesting a hypothetical view and then searching for more instances or evidences for comparison and for checking the hypothesis "which may not be correct" and which Chu Hsi sometimes described as "a temporarily formed doubting thesis" (*ch'üan-li i-i*). In short, the method of doubt and resolution of doubt was the method of hypothesis and verification by evidence.

Chu Hsi told his students: "The trouble with you is that you are not capable of doubting; that's why you do not make progress. As for myself, I have my doubt even in the least significant matters. As soon as one begins to doubt, one has to go on [thinking] until the doubt is completely resolved."

It was because of this inner urge to resolve doubts that Chu Hsi often confessed that, from his younger years on, he was fond of making investigations based on evidences (*k'ao-cheng*). He was one of the most brilliant minds in human history, yet he was never tired of hard work and patient research.

His great achievement lies in two directions. In the first place, he was never tired of preaching the importance of doubt in thinking and investigation—doubt in the sense of a "tentatively formed doubting thesis," doubt, not as an end in itself, but as a perplexity to be overcome, as a puzzling problem to be solved, as a challenge to

be satisfactorily met. In the second place, he had the courage to apply this technique of doubt and resolution of doubt to the major Classics of the Confucian Canon, thereby opening up a new era of classical scholarship which did not attain its full development until many centuries after his death.

He did not produce a commentary on *The Book of History*, but he made epoch-making contributions to the study of that classic by his great courage to doubt the authenticity of its so-called "ancient-script" portion consisting of 25 books which were apparently unknown to the classical scholars of the Han Dynasty, but which seemed first to appear in the fourth century A.D., and came to be accepted as an integral part of *The Book of History* after the seventh century. The 28 (actually 29) books that were officially recognized in the Doctors' College of the Han empire had been transmitted orally through an old scholar, Fu (who survived the book-burning of 213 B.C.), and had been transcribed in the "modern script" of the second century B.C.

Chu Hsi started out with a great doubt: "There are two distinct languages in these books—some of them are difficult to read and understand, others can be read and understood quite easily. It is very strange that the books which were transmitted from memory by the old scholar Fu are all hard to read, whereas the other books, which made their appearance much later, should all turn out to be quite easy to understand. How can we explain the strange fact that the old scholar Fu could memorize only those most difficult texts but could not transmit those that are so easy to read?"

In his *Chu Tzu yü-lei* (Classified Sayings), he kept repeating this great doubt to every student who asked him about *The Book of History*.[20] "All the books easy to understand are the 'ancient-script' texts; all those most difficult to read are the 'modern-script' texts." Chu Hsi did not openly say that the former group of texts were later forgeries. He merely wanted to impress upon his students this most puzzling linguistic distinction. Sometimes he suggested a very mild explanation to the effect that those books most difficult to read probably represented the language actually spoken to the people in those public proclamations, whereas the books easy to read were the work of official historians who probably did some revising or even rewriting.

Naturally such a mild theory did not explain away the doubt which, once raised, has persisted for many centuries to plague classical scholars.

A century later, under the Mongol (Yüan) Dynasty (1279–1368), Wu Ch'eng (1247–1331) took up Chu Hsi's challenge and drew the logical conclusion that the so-called "ancient-script" books were not genuine parts of *The Book of History*, but were forgeries of a much later age. So, Wu Ch'eng, in writing a Commentary on that classic, accepted only 28 "modern-script" books, and excluded the 25 "ancient-script" books.

In the sixteenth century, another scholar, Mei Tsu, also took up the question, and published in 1543 a book to prove that the "ancient-script" portion of *The Book of History* was a forgery by a fourth-century writer who apparently based his forgeries

[20] Chap. 78.

on the numerous passages found in ancient works wherein specific titles of "lost" books were mentioned as sources of the quotations. And Mei Tsu took the trouble to check the sources of those quotations which formed the kernel of the forged books.

But it took another and greater scholar of the seventeenth century, Yen Jo-ch'ü (1636–1704), to put a finishing touch to the task of resolving the doubt raised by Chu Hsi in the twelfth century about the "ancient-script" portion of *The Book of History*. Yen devoted 30 years to the writing of a great book entitled "Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Ancient-Script Portion of *The Book of History*." With his wonderful memory and great learning, Yen proved these books to be deliberate forgeries by tracing almost every sentence in them to its source and by showing how the forger had misquoted or misunderstood the meaning of the original passages. Altogether, Yen offered over a hundred proofs to expose the forgery. Although his views were vehemently attacked by conservative scholars of his day, it is now considered that Yen Jo-ch'ü's book has convincingly rendered a final verdict, and that nearly one-half of a major book of the Confucian Canon, which had been accepted as sacred scripture for a thousand years, must be recognized as a proven forgery.

And for this intellectual revolution of no small magnitude credit must be given to our philosopher Chu Hsi, who in the twelfth century expressed a courageous doubt and proposed a meaningful question which he himself was not yet fully prepared to answer.

Chu Hsi's treatment of the *I ching* (*The Book of Changes*), another of the "sacred scriptures," was even more daring, so daring indeed that it was never accepted and developed during the last seven centuries.

He published a Commentary on the *I ching* and a little book entitled "A Primer on the Study of the *I ching*." And he left a number of letters and discussions on that classic.[21]

His most daring thesis about the *I ching* was that that book, which had always been regarded as a sacred book of profound philosophical truth, was originally devised as a text of divination and fortune-telling, and could be understood only if it were studied as a book of divination and no more than a book of divination. "The sentences or judgments for every *kua* (hexagram), of which there were 64, and every line (of which there were 384) were meant to be used as answers to people who wanted to know whether it was propitious to do such-and-such a thing or not. Some answers were for sacrifices, others for hunting, others for traveling, or for war, or emigration. If the sages had intended to talk about philosophy, why should they not simply write a philosophy book; why should they talk always in terms of fortune-telling?" "If the book is studied merely as a text for the diviner, then so many passages which had been wrongly explained as mysterious and profound wisdom immediately become quite plain, simple, and intelligible."

[21] *Ibid*., chaps. 66 and 67.

This common-sense theory was the most courageous doubt ever uttered about that strange book. But it was rejected by his friends as an "oversimplification." But Chu Hsi replied: "It is just like this big lantern. Every strip of bamboo added to the lantern frame simply takes away that much of the light. If we could only get rid of all those light-covering devices, how much more light there would be, and how much better it would be for all of us!"

That was a truly revolutionary theory which illustrates one of his great remarks, that "the simplest theory is usually the true theory." But Chu Hsi realized that his view of the *I ching* as nothing more than a text for divination was too radical for his time. He sadly said, "It is difficult to talk to people about this theory. They would not believe it. Many distinguished people have argued so vehemently against me, and I have spent so much energy to explain and analyze my view to them. As I now look back, it is better to say nothing more. I shall leave it here, regardless of whether people believe it or not. I shall waste no more strength arguing for it."

Chu Hsi was justly proud of his *Commentary* on *The Book of Odes* (1177), which was to remain a standard text for many centuries after him. Two features of this work have been fruitful in leading to future developments in research. One was his courageous discarding of the traditional interpretation as represented in the so-called "Prefaces to the Poems" and his insistence that the songs and poems should be read with an open mind and independent judgment. The other feature was his recognition of the "ancient pronunciation" of the end-rhymes, a recognition that was at least indirectly responsible for the future development of a more exact study of the entire field of ancient pronunciation, leading to the beginnings of a science of Chinese phonology.

When *The Book of Odes* became a major Classic of the Confucian Canon under the Han empire, there were four different schools of textual reading and interpretation. After the first two centuries of the Christian era, only one school, the Mao school, was in the ascendency, overshadowing all the other schools. This Mao school claimed to have based its interpretation of the poems on the authority of the "Prefaces," which were supposedly handed down from Tzu-hsia, a great disciple of Confucius, but which were probably the work of some Han scholar who had taken the trouble to assign each poem to some historical occasion or event, or even to some historic personage as its author. Some of the historical assignments were taken from the *Tso chuan*, one of the three commentaries of the Confucian *Ch'un ch'iu Annals*, in which the origin of a few "Poems" was specifically mentioned. This display of historical erudition was quite impressive and probably accounted for the success of the Mao school in gradually winning general acceptance and official recognition. The "Prefaces to the Poems," therefore, were regarded as having sacrosanct authority throughout more than a millennium before the time of Chu Hsi.

Chu Hsi's senior contemporary, Cheng Ch'iao (1104–1162), the learned author of the encyclopedic *Tung chih*, published a little book with the title, "An Examination of the Absurdities about *The Book of Odes*," in which he strongly attacked the "Prefaces" as absurd interpretations by vulgar and ignorant persons with no sense of literary and poetic appreciation. Cheng Ch'iao's vehemence of language at first shocked our philosopher Chu Hsi, but, he confessed, "After reading several of his

criticisms and checking them with historical works, I soon came to the conclusion that the 'Prefaces' of those poems were really not reliable. When I went on to compare some other poems with their Prefaces, I found the content and meaning of the poems did not tally at all with their Prefaces. I was finally convinced that most of the 'Prefaces' were not trustworthy."

Here was a good illustration of conflicting ideas leading to doubt, and also of an open mind being receptive to new ideas and successful in resolving the doubt by evidence. Chu Hsi told how he had tried unsuccessfully to persuade his life-long friend and philosophical comrade, Lü Tsu-ch'ien (1137–1181), to reject the Prefaces. He pointed out to Lü that only a few Prefaces were confirmed by clear references in the *Tso chuan*, but most of them were grounded on no evidences. "But my friend said: 'How can one expect to find so many documentary evidences!' I said: 'In that case, we shall have to leave out all those Prefaces not based on evidences. We cannot use the Prefaces as evidences for the interpretation of the poems.' 'But,' said my friend Lü, 'the Prefaces themselves are evidences!' From our discussion, I realized that many people prefer to explain each poem by its Preface, and refuse to seek understanding by reading the poem itself."

In his courageous fight to overthrow the authority of the Prefaces and seek to understand the meaning of the poems by reading each poem with an open mind, Chu Hsi was only partially successful, both in his own new commentary and in leading future workers to go farther in the same direction. The weight of tradition was still too great for Chu Hsi himself and for future generations. But the great and creative doubt of Cheng Ch'iao and Chu Hsi will always be remembered whenever modern and unprejudiced scholarship undertakes to work on *The Book of Odes* with new tools and in an entirely free spirit.

For the second new feature of Chu Hsi's work on *The Book of Odes*, namely, the aspect of the ancient pronunciation of the rhymes, he was inspired and aided by the work of another learned contemporary of his, Wu Yü, who died in 1153 or 1154. Wu Yü was the real pioneer in the study of Chinese phonology in working out an inductive method of comparing rhymed lines in that ancient Classic among themselves and with other ancient and medieval rhymed poetry. He wrote quite a few books, including "A Supplement on the Rhymes of *The Book of Odes*," "Explaining the Rhymes in the Ch'u tz'u," and "A Supplement to the Standard Rhyme-Book" (*Yün pu*). Only the last-named has survived to this day, through reprints.

There is no doubt that Wu Yü had discovered that those many end-rhymes in *The Book of Odes* which did not seem to rhyme according to "modern" pronunciation were natural rhymes in ancient times and were to be read according to their "ancient pronunciation." He therefore carefully listed all the end-rhymes in the 300-odd poems of *The Book of Odes* and worked out their ancient pronunciation with the aid of ancient and medieval dictionaries and rhyme-books. A preface written by Hsü Ch'an, a friend and distant relative of his, clearly described his patient method of collecting and comparing the vast number of instances. "The word now pronounced '*fu*' appears 16 times in *The Book of Odes*, all, without exception, pronounced '*bek*' [or '*b'iuk*,' according to Bernard Karlgren]. The word now pronounced '*yu*'

appears 11 times in *The Book of Odes*, all, without exception, rhymed with words ending *-i.*"

This strict methodology impressed Chu Hsi so much that he decided to accept Wu Yü's system of "ancient pronunciation" throughout his own Commentary. Probably with a view to the avoidance of unnecessary controversy, Chu Hsi did not call it "ancient pronunciation" but "rhyming pronunciation"—that is to say, a certain word should be pronounced in such a way as to rhyme with the other end-rhymes the pronunciation of which had apparently remained unchanged.

But, in his conversation with his students, he frankly said that he had followed Wu Yü in most cases, making additions or modifications in only a few instances; and that the rhyming pronunciations were the natural pronunciations of the ancient poets, who, "like us in modern times, composed their songs in natural rhymes." That is to say, the rhyming pronunciations were ancient pronunciations.

When asked whether there was any ground for the rhyming pronunciation, Chu Hsi answered: "Mr. Wu produced proofs for all his pronunciations. His books can be found in Ch'üan-chou. For one word he sometimes quoted as many as over ten proofs, but at least two or three proofs. He said that he originally had even more evidences, but had to leave out many [in order to reduce the cost of copying and printing]." And in those cases in which Chu Hsi found it necessary to differ with Wu, he also cited examples for comparison in his "Classified Sayings" and in the *Ch'u-tz'u chi-chu* (An Annotated Edition of the *Ch'u tz'u*).

But because Chu Hsi used the expression "rhyming pronunciation" throughout his Commentary on *The Book of Odes* without ever referring to the expression "ancient pronunciation," and because Wu Yü's books were long lost or inaccessible, a discussion was started early in the sixteenth century in the form of a severe criticism of Chu Hsi's improper use of the expression "rhyming pronunciation." In 1580, Chiao Hung (1541–1620), a great scholar and philosopher, published in his "Notes" (*Pi-ch'eng*) a brief statement of a theory (probably his friend Ch'en Ti's [1541–1617] theory) that those end-rhymes in ancient songs and poems that did not fit into modern schemes of rhyming were all natural rhymes whose pronunciations happened to have changed in the course of time. He cited a number of instances to show that the words would rhyme perfectly if pronounced as the ancients sang them.

It was Chiao Hung's friend Ch'en Ti who undertook many years of patient research and published a series of books on the ancient pronunciation of hundreds of rhyming words in many ancient books of rhymed poetry. The first of these works was published in 1616 under the title: *Mao-shih ku-yin k'ao* (An Inquiry into the Ancient Pronunciation of *The Book of Odes*), with a preface by Chiao Hung.

In his own preface, Ch'en Ti proclaimed his main thesis that the end-rhymes in *The Book of Odes* were naturally rhymed in their original pronunciation, and that it was only the natural change of pronunciation which made some of them appear not to rhyme at all. What had been suggested by Chu Hsi as "rhyming pronunciations," said Ch'en Ti, were in most cases the ancient or original pronunciations.

"I have done some evidential investigation (*k'ao-chü*)," he said, "and have grouped the evidences into two classes: internal evidences (*pen-cheng*) and collateral evidences (*p'ang-cheng*). Internal evidences are taken from *The Book of Odes* itself. Collateral evidences are taken from other ancient rhymed works of approximately the same age."

To show how the word "*fu*" was invariably rhymed in its original archaic pronunciation (*bek*, or *b'iuk*), he listed 14 internal evidences and 10 collateral evidences, a total of 24. The same inductive method was applied to the study of ancient pronunciation in other rhymed literature of ancient China. To prove the ancient pronunciation of the word "*hsing*," he cited 44 instances from the rhymed sections of *The Book of Changes*, all rhyming with words ending in *-ang*. For the word "*ming*," he cited 17 evidences from the same book.

Nearly half a century later, the patriot-scholar Ku Yen-wu (1613–1682) completed his *Yin-hsüeh wu-shu* (Five Books of Phonology). One of them was on "The Original Pronunciation of *The Book of Odes*"; another on "The Pronunciation of *The Book of Changes*"; and another on "The Rhyming Groups of the T'ang Period," which is an attempt to compare the ancient pronunciation with that of the Middle Ages. Ku acknowledged his indebtedness to Ch'en Ti and adopted his method in classifying his proofs into internal and collateral evidences.

Let us again use the word "*fu*" as an example. In his "Original Pronunciations of *The Book of Odes*," Ku Yen-wu cited 17 internal evidences and 15 collateral evidences, a total of 32. In his larger work on the rhyming groups of the T'ang Dynasty (618–907), he listed a total of 162 evidences from available ancient rhymed literature to show how that word was rhymed and pronounced in ancient times.

Such patient collecting and counting of instances was intended to serve a twofold purpose. In the first place, that was the only way to ascertain the ancient pronunciation of the words and also to find possible exceptions which may challenge the rule and demand explanation. Ku Yen-wu acknowledged that some exceptions could be explained by the possibility of local and dialectal deviations in pronunciation.

But the most valuable use of this vast statistical material was to form a basis for systematic reconstruction of the actual groupings of ancient sounds. On the basis of his study of the rhymed literature of ancient China, Ku Yen-wu concluded that ancient pronunciations could be analyzed into ten general rhyming groups (*yün p'u*).

Thus was begun the deductive and constructive part of Chinese phonetics, namely, the continuous attempts, first, to understand the ancient "finals" (rhyming groups), and, in a later period, to understand the nature of the ancient initial consonants.

Ku Yen-wu proposed ten general rhyming groups in 1667. In the following century, a number of scholars continued to work on the same problem and by the same inductive and deductive methods of evidential research. Chiang Yung (1681–1762) suggested 13 rhyming groups. Tuan Yü-ts'ai (1735–1815) increased the number to 17. His teacher and friend, Tai Chen (1724–1777), further increased it to 19. Wang Nien-sun (1744–1832) and Chiang Yu-kao (died in 1851), working independently, arrived at a more or less similar system of 21 rhyming groups.

Ch'ien Ta-hsin (1728–1804), one of the most scientifically minded men of the eighteenth century, published in 1799 his "Notes," which includes two papers on the results of his studies of ancient initial labials and dentals. These two papers are outstanding examples of the method of evidential investigation at its best. He collected over 60 groups of instances for the labials, and about the same number for the dentals. In the identifying of the ancient sound of the words in each group, each step was a skillful combination of induction and deduction, of generalization from particulars and application of general rules to particular instances. The final outcome was the formulation of two general laws of phonological change regarding labials and dentals.

It is important for us to remind ourselves that those Chinese scholars working in the field of Chinese phonetics were so greatly handicapped that they seemed almost from the outset to be doomed to failure. They were without the minimum aid of an alphabet for the Chinese language. They had no benefit of the comparative study of the various dialects, especially of the older dialects in southern, southeastern, and southwestern China. Nor had they any knowledge of such neighboring languages as Korean, Vietnamese, and Japanese. Without any of these useful tools, those Chinese scholars, seeking to understand the phonetic changes of their language, were actually faced with an almost impossible task. Their successes or failures, therefore, must be evaluated in the light of their numerous and important disadvantages.

The only dependable tool of those great men was their strict method of patiently collecting, comparing, and classifying what they recognized as facts or evidences, and an equally strict method of applying formulated generalizations to test the particular instances within the classified groups. It was indeed very largely this meticulous application of a rigorous method that enabled Wu Yü and Chu Hsi in the twelfth century, Ch'en Ti and Ku Yen-wu in the seventeenth century, and their successors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to carry on their systematic study of Chinese phonetic problems and to develop it into something of a science—into a body of knowledge answering to the rigorous canons of evidence, exactitude, and logical systematization.

I have sketched here what I have conceived as the story of the development of the scientific spirit and method in the Chinese thought of the past eight centuries. It began in the eleventh century with the ambitious ideal of extending human knowledge to the utmost by investigating the reason or law in all things of the universe. That grandiose ideal was by necessity narrowed down to the investigation of books—to the patient and courageous study of the few great books which formed the "sacred scripture" of the Chinese classical tradition. History saw the gradual development of a new spirit and a new method based on doubt and the resolution of doubt. The spirit was the moral courage to doubt even on questions touching sacred matters, and the insistence on the importance of an open mind and impartial and dispassionate search for truth. The method was the method of evidential thinking and evidential investigation (*k'ao-chü* and *k'ao-cheng*).

I have cited some examples of this spirit and method at work, notably in the development of a "Higher Criticism" in the form of investigations of the authenticity

and dating of a part of the classical texts and in the development of a scientific study of the problems of Chinese phonology. But, as a matter of history, this method was fruitfully and effectually applied to many other fields of historical and humanistic research, such as textual criticism, semantics (i.e., the study of the historical changes of the meaning of words), history, historical geography, and archeology.

The method of evidential investigation was made fully conscious by such men as Ch'en Ti and Ku Yen-wu in the seventeenth century, who first used the expressions "internal evidences" and "collateral evidences." The efficacy of the method was so clearly demonstrated in the scientific works of the two great masters of the seventeenth century, Ku Yen-wu and Yen Jo-ch'ü, that by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries practically all first-class minds in intellectual China were attracted to it and were devoting their lives to its application to all fields of classical and humanistic study. The result was a new age of Revival of Learning which has also been called the Age of Evidential Investigation.

Even the most violent critics of this new learning had to admit the scientific nature of its rigorous and effective method. One such violent critic was Fang Tung-shu (1772–1851), who in 1826 published a book which was a vehement criticism and condemnation of the whole movement. Even Fang had to pay high tribute to the rigorous method as it was used by two of his contemporaries, Wang Nien-sun and his son, Wang Yin-chih (1766–1834). Fang said, "As a linguistic approach to the classics, there is nothing that surpasses the *Ching-i shu-wen* (Notes on the Classics as I Have Heard from My Father) of the Wangs of Kao-yu. That work could actually make the great Cheng Hsüan (d. 200) and Chu Hsi bow their heads (in humble acknowledgment of their errors). Ever since the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220), there has never been anything that could compare with it." Such a tribute from a violent critic of the whole movement is the best proof that the meticulous application of a scientific method of research is the most effective means to disarm opposition, to undermine authority and conservatism, and to win recognition and credence for the new scholarship.

What was the historical significance of this spirit and method of "exact and impartial inquiry"?

A brief but factual answer must be: It succeeded in replacing an age of subjective, idealistic, and moralizing philosophy (from the eleventh to the sixteenth century) by making it seem outmoded, "empty," unfruitful, and no longer attractive to the best minds of the age. It succeeded in creating a new age of Revival of Learning (1600–1900) based on disciplined and dispassionate research. But it did not produce an age of natural science. The spirit of exact and impartial inquiry, as exemplified in Ku Yen-wu, Tai Chen, Ch'ien Ta-hsin, and Wang Nien-sun, did not lead to an age of Galileo, Vesalius, and Newton in China.

Why? Why did this scientific spirit and method not result in producing natural science?

Some time ago, I tried to offer a historical explanation by making a comparative chronology of the works of the intellectual leaders of China and of Europe in the seventeenth century. I said: If we make a comparative chronology of the leaders of Chinese and European learning during the seventeenth century—the formative

period both for the new science in modern Europe and the new learning in China—we shall see that 4 years before Ku Yen-wu was born (1613), Galileo had invented his telescope and was using it to revolutionize the science of astronomy, and Kepler was publishing his revolutionary studies of Mars and his new laws of the movements of the planets. When Ku Yen-wu worked on his philological studies and reconstructed the archaic pronunciations, Harvey had published his great work on the circulation of blood [1628], and Galileo his two great works on astronomy and the new science [1630]. Eleven years before Yen Jo-ch'ü began his critical study of *The Book of History*, Torricelli had completed his great experiment on the pressure of air [1644]. Shortly after, Boyle announced the results of his experiments in Chemistry, and formulated the law that bears his name [1660–1661]. The year before Ku Yen-wu completed his epoch-making Five Books on philological studies [1667] Newton had worked out his calculus and his analysis of white light. In 1680, Ku wrote his preface to the final texts of his philological works; in 1687, Newton published his *Principia*.

The striking similarity in the scientific spirit and method of these great leaders of the age of new learning in their respective countries makes the fundamental difference between their fields of work all the more conspicuous. Galileo, Kepler, Boyle, Harvey, and Newton worked with the objects of nature, with stars, balls, inclining planes, telescopes, microscopes, prisms, chemicals, and numbers and astronomical tables. And their Chinese contemporaries worked with books, words, and documentary evidences. The latter created 300 years of scientific book learning; the former created a new science and a new world.[22]

That was a historical explanation, but was a little unfair to those great Chinese scholars of the seventeenth century. It was not enough to say, as I did, that "the purely literary training of the intellectual class in China has tended to limit its activities to the field of books and documents." It should be pointed out that the books they worked on were books of tremendous importance to the moral, religious, and philosophical life of the entire nation. Those great men considered it their sacred duty to find out what each and every one of those ancient books actually meant. As Robert Browning sang of the Grammarian:

> "What's in the scroll," quoth he, "thou keepest furled?
> "Show me their shaping,
> "Theirs who most studied man, the bard and sage,—
> "Give!"—So, he gowned him,
> Straight got by heart that book to its last page. …
> ……
> "Let me know all! …
> "Even to the crumbs I'd fain eat up the feast." …
> ……
> "… What's time? Leave Now for dogs and apes!
> "Man has Forever." …[23]

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[22] *The Chinese Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 70–71.

[23] "A Grammarian's Funeral," in Augustine Birrell, ed., *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning* (London: John Murray, 1951), Vol. I, pp. 424–426.

Browning's tribute to the spirit of the humanist age was: "This man decided not to Live but Know."

The same spirit was expressed by Confucius: "Study as if life were too short and you were on the point of missing it." "He who learns the truth in the morning may die in the evening without regret." The same spirit was expressed by Chu Hsi in his age. There is no end to knowledge. I can only devote my whole en.ergy to study: death alone will end my toil."

But Chu Hsi went further: "My friends, you are not making progress, because you have not learned to doubt. As soon as you begin to doubt, you will never stop until your doubt is resolved at last." And his true successors, the founders and workers of the new age of Revival of Learning, were men who had learned to doubt—to doubt with an open mind and to seek ways and means to resolve the doubt, to dare to doubt even when they were dealing with the great books of the Sacred Canon. And, precisely because they were all their lives dealing with the great books of the Sacred Canon, they were forced always to stand on solid ground: they had to learn to doubt with evidence and to resolve doubt with evidence. That, I think, is the historical explanation of the remarkable fact that those great men working with only "books, words, and documents" have actually succeeded in leaving to posterity a scientific tradition of dispassionate and disciplined inquiry, of rigorous evidential thinking and investigation, of boldness in doubt and hypotheses coupled with meticulous care in seeking verification—a great heritage of scientific spirit and method which makes us, sons and daughters of present-day China, feel not entirely at sea, but rather at home, in the new age of modern science.

Chapter 27
An Appeal for a Systematic Search in Japan for Long-Hidden T'ang Dynasty Source-Materials of the Early History of Zen Buddhism

Dedicated to Dr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki in commemoration of his ninetieth birthday.

What shall I offer to my honored friend and comrade Dr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki on the happy occasion of his 90th birthday? My humble offering to him consists of an earnest appeal that he will devote his next decade to an active leadership in a grand search in Japan for the many valuable documents of the early history of Chinese Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism,—documents which were recorded to have been brought to Japan in the ninth century by such great Japanese pilgrims as Saicho (最澄) in 805, Engyo (圓行) in 839, Ennin (圓仁) and Eun (惠运) in 847, and Enchin (圓珍) in 858. Knowing the great reverence of the Japanese nation for those pilgrims and for the sacred scriptures they brought back from China, I am almost sure that these T'ang dynasty documents are still safely preserved in some of the great monasteries in the Nara-Kyoto area although fully a thousand years have passed since their arrival in Japan.

It is high time now for the Japanese historians to organize a thorough and systematic search for those clearly recorded but long hidden first-hand source-materials which will surely throw much light on the *true* history of the origin and early development of the Ch'an (Zen) movement in the eighth century. And it is my warmest and sincerest Birthday wish that Dr. Suzuki will lead this grand search (大索) as he has done in the past decades in the discovery of two discourses of Shen-hui and of the two early texts of the *T'an-ching of the Sixth Patriarch* (六祖坛经).

A careful examination of the catalogues of Buddhist texts and documents brought from the T'ang empire to Japan by those great pilgrims reveals that at least the following items were recorded to have come to Japan in the ninth century:—

1. *Shen-hui's Nan-tsung ting shih fei lun* 南宗定是非论 (in Engyo's list).

Chapter Note: Susumu Yamaguchi, ed., Buddhism and Culture. Kyoto: Nakano Press, 1960. pp. 15–23.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_27, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

2. *Nan-tsung Ho-tsai ch'an-shih wen-ta cha-cheng*-i 南宗荷泽禅师问答杂征义 (in Ennin's list of 847, and in Enchin's lists of 854, 857 and 858, and also in Eicho's inventory list of 1094 永超, 东域传灯目录). I am grateful to Professor Iriya (入矢义高) whose researches on the Stein collection of Tunhuang manuscripts have enabled him to establish the fact that the full title of what Dr. Suzuki and I had edited and published as Shen-hui's Discourses (神会语录) was *Wen-ta cha-cheng-i* which may be translated as "Collected Dialogues of Various Occasions." In Ennin's and in Eicho's lists, as Professor Iriya has found in Stein MS 6557, the name of the compiler or editor is mentioned as Liu Ch'eng (刘澄).
3. *Ho-tsai ho-shang ch'an-yao* 荷泽和尚禅要 "The Essence of Ch'an, by the Monk of Ho-tsai (Shen-hui)" (in Enchin's 857 and 858 lists), which may turn out to be the same as Shen-hui's Sermon (*Nanyang Ho-shang T'an-yü*) which Dr. Suzuki first found in Peiping in 1934 and which I collated with Pelliot MS 2045 B and published in 1958.
4. The *T'an-ching of the Sixth Patriarch* which is variously listed as:

   (a) 曹溪山第六祖惠能大师说见性顿教直了成佛决定无疑法宝记檀经 in Ennin's 847 list. This lengthy title may be rendered as follows: "The Dana (檀) Sutra of the Treasure of the Law, Preached by Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch, the Great Master of Ts'ao-hsi Hill, Teaching the Religion of Sudden Enlightenment through Seeing One's Own Nature, That Buddhahood Can Be Achieved by Direct Apprehension without the Slightest Doubt." This title seems to indicate that this text arriving so early in Japan may be even older and more primary than the Tunhuang manuscript copy which is included in the *Taisho Tripitaka* (no. 2007 in Vol. 48) and which Dr. Suzuki edited and published in 1934.
   (b) 曹溪山第六祖能大师坛经 in Enchin's lists of 854, 857 and 858.
   (c) 六祖坛经 edited by Hui-hsin (惠昕) in Eicho's inventory list of 1094. This text must be the same as the reprint of the 967 text of Hui-hsin which Dr. Suzuki edited in 1934 with his own and my comments.

5. The so-called "Song of Enlightenment" (*Cheng-tao ko* 证道歌) which is variously listed as:

   (a) *Tsui-shang-ch'eng fu-hsing ko*, "The Song of Buddha-nature of the Supreme Vehicle," by the monk Chen-chiao. 最上乘佛性歌, 真觉述 (in Ennin's 838 and 847 lists).
   (b) *Fu-hsing ko*, "Song of Buddha-nature," by Chen-chiao. 佛性歌, 真觉述 (in Ennin's 840 list).
   (c) *Ts'ao-hsi-ch'an-shih cheng-tao ko*. 曹溪禅师证道歌, 真觉述 "The Song of Enlightenment of the Ch'an Master of Ts'ao-hsi" (that is, Hui-neng) cited by Chen-chiao. (In Ennin's 847 list).
   (d) *Liu-tsu-ho-shang kuan-hsin chieh* 六祖和尚观心偈 "The Sixth Patriarch's Gathas of Inward Examination" (in Enchin's 854, 857 and 858 lists).

(e) *Tao-hsing ko* 道性歌 "The Song of the Nature of Tao" (in Eun's second list).
(f) *Chien-tao-hsing ko* 见道性歌 "The Song of Seeing the Nature of the Tao" (in Enchin's 854 list).

6. *Ts'ao-hsi Pao-lin-chuan in ten chüan* 曹溪宝林传十卷 which is a crude "history" of the Ch'an (Zen) Transmission from the Buddha down through 28 Indian Patriarchs to the six Chinese Patriarchs, but which was undoubtedly the prototype and the raw material of the first sections of the more famous *Ch'uan-teng-lu*, "Records of the Transmission of the Lamp" of 1004 by Tao-yuan. Because the *Pao-lin-chuan* had been superseded by the *Ch'uan-teng-lu*, the former work was long considered "lost" until 1934 when one *chüan* (6th) was discovered in Japan and six *chüan* (1st to 5th, and 8th) were found in a monastery at Chao-ch'eng (赵城), Shansi. The *Pao-lin-chuan*, complete in ten *chüan*, is listed in Ennin's 838, 840 and 847 catalogues, and also in Eicho's 1094 inventory list. Both catalogues mention the name of the author or compiler as Ling-ch'e (灵澈, a great monk-poet of the T'ang period), and not Chih-chu (智炬) as it appeared in the volume found in Japan.
7. *Ch'an-men ch'i tsu hsing-chuang pei-ming* 禅门七祖行状碑铭 "The Lives and the Texts of Biographical Monuments of the Seven Patriarchs of the Ch'an (Zen) School," containing altogether 15 documents (including the text of the biographical monument of Shen-hsiu 神秀 written by the statesmen Chang Yüeh 张说, 大通禅师碑铭). The 15 items are twice listed in Enchin's 857 and 858 catalogues. These biographical notices formed the primary materials of those chapters in the *Pao-lin-chuan* dealing with the lives of Bodhidharma and the Chinese Patriarchs. A re-discovery in Japan of the lost texts of the biographical monuments of the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Patriarchs, therefore, would be tantamount to the recovery of the two last books of the *Pao-lin-chuan*, and might reveal some of the ways and means employed by Shen-hui (who died in 762) and his junior contemporaries in their active and often unscrupulous fabrification of the "history" of the Ch'an (Zen) movement.

I have only listed those T'ang documents which my own meagre historical knowledge led me to recognize as important source-materials for the early history of the Ch'an movement. It is quite possible and probable that a patient and thorough search of the great monasteries will yield results far exceeding the wildest expectations of any one of us.

But these few items should be enough to inspire Dr. Suzuki and his younger friends to start the Grand Search.

For over 30 years, Dr. Suzuki and I have been working in the same field of discovering and editing original materials related to the early history of Zen Buddhism. I published in 1930 four texts of Shen-hui which I had found in 1926 in the Pelliot and Stein collections of Tunhuang manuscripts. In 1932, Mr. Mitsuo Ishii published his Tunhuang copy of Shen-hui's "Discourses" with Dr. Suzuki's explanations in which he referred to my edition of Shen-hui. In 1934, Dr. Suzuki collated the Ishii text with my text of Shen-hui's "Discourses" (神会语录) and published it in a new edition under the title: *Ho-tsai Shen-hui Ch'an-shih yü-lu* (荷泽神会禅师语录).

In 1936, Dr. Suzuki published his *Shao-shih i-shu* (少室逸书) consisting of several Zen documents he had found in 1934 among the Tunhuang manuscripts at the National Library of Peiping. These included a lengthy document with an incomplete title, which Dr. Suzuki correctly guessed as preaching ideas resembling those of Shen-hui or of the school of Hui-neng. In 1957, I took the photostat copies which Dr. Suzuki and his student Mr. Richard De Martino had made of two newly discovered Shen-hui documents in the Pelliot collection, and I edited and published them in 1958 under the title: "Two Newly Edited Texts of the Ch'an Master Shen-hui from the Pelliot Collection of Tunhuang Manuscripts" (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, "Academia Sinica," Vol. XXIX. p. 827–882). One of the two texts is a better copy of what Dr. Suzuki had suspected to be of Shen-hui's teaching: it bears the complete title of 南阳和上顿教解脱禅门直了性坛语, "The Sermon of the Monk of Nanyang on the Doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment, of the Ch'an of Emancipation and Direct Apprehension of One's Own Nature," which established it as undoubtedly a work of Shen-hui who lived and taught in Nanyang more than 10 years and was known as "the Monk of Nanyang."

In all these, Dr. Suzuki and I have been working on the manuscript copies that have come out of a cave-library of Tunhuang. What a great pleasure it would be if we could collate these with the T'ang manuscripts of Shen-hui which had been brought to Japan by Engyo, Ennin and Enchin in the ninth century and which were apparently still extant in 1094!

The Tunhuang copy of the "T'an-ching of the Sixth Patriarch" was first photographed in London by Professor Yabuki (矢吹庆辉) in 1926. In 1927, Dr. Yabuki sent me a complete miniature copy of it. It was published by Yabuki in his *Ming-sha yü-yün* (鸣沙余韵), and is now included in the *Taisho Tripitaka*. But it was Dr. Suzuki who first gave it to the world in a collated, punctuated and paragraphed edition in 1934.

In 1933 there appeared the photographical reproduction of a Japanese reprint—the Koshoji (兴圣寺) copy—of the 1153 Chinese edition of the *T'an-ching* which was based on a manuscript copy punctuated and read in 1031 "for the sixteenth time" by the scholar-statesman Chao Chiung (晁迥). That Chao Chiung copy had a colophon by the monk Hui-hsin (惠昕) who in 967 had edited an earlier manuscript and rearranged it into "*two chüan*" and 11 sections. Dr. Suzuki edited this text and published a punctuated and paragraphed edition in 1934. This text seems to be the same as the Hui-hsin text in "*two chüan*" recorded by Eicho (永超) in his inventory catalogue of 1094.

In 1935, Dr. Suzuki found in the Daijoji of Kaga (加贺大乘寺) a manuscript copy of the *T'an-ching* in the handwriting of the monk-pilgrim Dōgen (道元) who was in China from 1223 to 1227. This copy was based on a Chinese printed edition of 1116. It is also in *two chüan* and 11 sections. It was Dr. Suzuki who again edited this Tao-yüan text and published it in a punctuated and paragraphed edition with a very useful index.

The original 1116 text of the Dōgen manuscript is apparently also based on the Hui-hsin text of 967, but it already shows the influence of such works as the *Pao-lin-chuan* or the *Transmission of the Lamp*. For instance, the names of the

Indian Patriarchs after Bhikshu Simha (师子比丘) and before Bodhidharma in the Dōgen text are different from those in the Tunhuang copy and the Hui-hsin text, but are the same as those in chapter 2 of the *Transmission of the Lamp*.

In all these three oldest texts of the *T'an-ching*, Tunhuang manuscript, the names of Hsing-ssu and Huai-jang (行思, 怀让), the two disciples of Hui-neng, from whom all the great schools of Zen are supposed to have descended, were never mentioned among the ten disciples of the Sixth Patriarch.

But, in all these three versions, there was a death-bed prophecy by Hui-neng to the effect that, some 20 years after his death, when false doctrines would cast doubt upon his teaching, there would rise up one man who would, at the risk of his own life, fight to determine the truth and falsehood of the religion of the Buddha and to establish the true teaching. That was an unmistakable reference to Shen-hui's courageous challenge to the powerful "National Teachers" of the Lanka School and his 30-year struggle for the establishment of the "Southern School," beginning in the 20th year of Kai-yüan (开元, 732), which was the 20th year after the death of Hui-neng (713). That prophecy seems to indicate that the original text of the *T'an-ching* was probably composed by Shen-hui's followers or associates. It is interesting to note that that prophecy has been omitted in all such later versions as that of 1291 by Tsung-pao (宗宝) which is included in the *Taisho Tripitaka* (no. 2008).

What was "the original text" of the *T'an-ching* like? That is a question which no one can now answer with any degree of satisfaction. My own guess would be that the original core of the *T'an-ching* probably consisted of two principal parts: part one was a fictionized autobiography of Hui-neng (somewhat like sections 2–11 of Dr. Suzuki's edition of the Tunhuang copy); and part two was made up of a number of topical sermons and dialogues attributed to Hui-neng but mostly lifted from Shen-hui's discourses (somewhat like sections 12–31 and 34–37 which often bear striking resemblance to parts of the three major works of Shen-hui edited and published by Dr. Suzuki and myself).

Let me point out one peculiar feature in the Tunhuang manuscript which has often been overlooked by the casual reader. I refer to the fact that in this oldest extant version, the famous gatha of Hui-neng about "*bodhi* and the mirror" was *in two versed forms*. In the Hsi Hsia (西夏) translation (1071) of the *T'an-ching*, this gatha was also in two versed forms (Journal of the National Peiping Library, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 228–229). A careful examination of these two verses will reveal that our unknown author of this fictionized autobiography of Hui-neng was evidently experimenting with his verse-writing and was not sure which verse was better. So both versions were tentatively kept. (Posterity has preferred his first version with slight revisions, and rejected the second.) To me this amateurish experimentation with verse-making is a clear evidence that that part of the fictionized autobiography was undoubtedly the true original form of the *T'an-ching*. [For a diametrically opposite opinion, see Professor Ui (宇井伯寿) on the *T'an-ching*, in his "Study of the *T'an-ching*," p. 1–172 of Vol. II of His "Essays on History of the Zen School."]

At any rate, it would be a most wonderful event in Buddhist historiography if our Japanese friends could someday recover one or all of the earliest texts of the *T'an-ching* that had been brought to Japan by Ennin in 847 and by Enchin in 858! We shall then be in a better position to see what its original form was like.

I need not say much about the *Cheng-tao-ko* (证道歌) which was usually attributed to Hui-neng's disciple Hsüan-chiao (玄觉), called "Yung-chia ta-shih" (永嘉大师, Yoka Daishi in Japanese), who is supposed to have died in 712 or 713. Thirty years ago, on the basis of a Tunhuang manuscript copy in the Pelliot collection, I pointed out that its author was mentioned therein as Chao-chiao ta-shih (招觉大师). I also pointed out that a monk who died in 713 could not have sung about "the 28 Patriarchs" and "the Six Patriarchs" as the author did in the 37th verse of the "Song of Enlightenment." The myth of the 28 Patriarchs had not been invented until many decades later!

It is interesting to note that, in the catalogues of the Japanese pilgrims of the ninth century, this Song was apparently attributed, not to Hsüan-chiao, but to a Chen-chiao, and sometimes even to Hui-neng himself.

Lastly, I wish to say a few words on the importance of a possible recovery in Japan of the ten-*chüan* sets of *Pao-lin-chuan* and the 15 biographical documents on Bodhidharma and the Chinese Patriarchs. A study of the two detailed lists of the 15 biographical documents on the seven patriarchs in Enchin's catalogues have convinced me that practically all those so-called "biographies" were incorporated into Books 8, 9, and 10 of the *Pao-lin-chuan*. A few of the texts of "biographical monuments," such as those about Bodhidharma by the Emperor Wu (502–549) of the Liang dynasty and his Heir Apparent, were clumsy and worthless forgeries. But a number of other biographical texts are of great historical interest and significance.

Let me cite a most interesting example. Book 8 of the recovered text of the *Pao-lin-chuan* contains a biographical monument to the Third Patriarch, Seng Ts'an (僧璨), written by the wartime statesman Fang Kuan (房琯) who died in 763. In this text I find these sentences:

> From Mahakasyapa to our Master (Ts'an), there were seven Patriarchs in the West, and three in China. He has been called the Third Patriarch to this day. (自迦叶至大师,西国有七, 中土三矣。至今号为三祖焉。)

And this in rhymed verse:

> From Mahakasyapa to our Master, there were ten saintly ones. (迦叶至我[师]兮,圣者十人。)

These sentences cannot be understood without reference to Shen-hui's bold but unhistorical assertion that there were only eight Indian Patriarchs from Mahakasyapa to Bodhidharma inclusive. (See my "Surviving Works of the Monk Shen-hui" 神会和尚遗集, pp. 178–179; and my "Two Newly Edited Texts of the Ch'an Master Shen-hui," p. 849.) Shen-hui came to know the future Prime Minister in the years 745–746, and the monument to the Third Patriarch was erected in 746. There was no doubt that Fang Kuan wrote the text of the monument at the request of the fighting monk Shen-hui and therefore it incorporated Shen-hui's unhistorical theory of

"Seven Patriarchs in the West," not counting Bodhidharma who came to China,—a theory which is unintelligible to the Chinese and Japanese readers who have for nearly a thousand years accepted the equally unhistorical tradition of "Twenty-eight Indian Patriarchs."

I cite this instance to show how rich a store of historical materials a complete set of the *Pao-lin-chuan* may reveal to us historians. I am fairly certain that Books 9 and 10 of the *Pao-lin-chuan* will contain the biographical documents of Tao-hsin (道信) and Hung-jen (弘忍), which were produced in the eighth century by, or at the request of, both the Northern and the Southern Schools. And I am more interested in the recovery of the biographical materials about Hui-neng, which should include some form of the prototype of the *T'an-ching*, or of the so-called "Another Life-story of the Master of Ts'ao-hsi" (曹溪大师别传), of which a copy was brought to Japan by Saichō (最澄) in 804.

There were two texts of the biographical monuments to Hui-neng. The one written about 753 or 754 by the great poet Wang Wei (王维) is preserved to this day intact. But there was an earlier monument to Hui-neng actually erected by Shen-hui in several centers of his own activity before his exile in 753. The text of this earlier monument was written by Sung Ting (宋鼎), Deputy Minister of War. Stone rubbings of this Sung Ting text were recorded by Ouyang Hsiu (欧阳修, 1007–1072) and Chao Ming-ch'eng (赵明诚, 1081–1129) in their records of bronze and stone inscriptions. But both the stone and the rubbings have long been lost in China. It is my devout wish that this biographical text written by Sung Ting,—surely at the request of Shen-hui and surely containing information supplied by him,—may yet be found in Japan either as a part of the *Pao-lin-chuan*, or as a separate item included in the 15 biographical documents twice enumerated in Enchin's catalogues.

It is in the interest of history and in the interest of truth that I make this most earnest appeal to Dr. Suzuki to lead this great search for the historical treasures so long hidden in the great monasteries of Japan. May he live long to witness and share the rapture and rejoicing in the success of the search!

Chapter 28
Social Changes and Science

A speech delivered at the "Four-Nation" Science Education Conference, Taipei, November 6, 1961, also titled "Social Changes Necessary for the Growth of Science." For a Chinese translation, see Xu Gaoruan, tr., "Kexue fazhan suo xuyao de shehui gaige" in Hu Shih Yanjiangji (Taipei: Hu Shih Jinianguan, 1970, 3 Vols.), Vol. 3., pp. 570–580.

Editor's note: This is Dr. Hu Shih's last major speech and—as usual—a controversial one. Delivered at the "four-nation" Science Education Conference in Taipei November 6, 1961, it touched off fiery debate on the spiritual values of East and West.

What are the social changes necessary for the growth of science—in our countries in the Far East?

I am sure that our honored visitors who have been working for the promotion of science education in many Asian lands are far better qualified than I to speak on this big and important subject and to open up fruitful discussions at the conference.

I suspect that I am invited to speak today because our friends in charge of the arrangements for the conference probably had a wicked design on me and on you: They probably wanted me to play of the *Advocatus diaboli* at the opening of your conference, to say some unpleasant things for you to tear to pieces during your quiet deliberations.

So here I am, appearing before you in the capacity of an "advocate of the Devil," to say a few naughty and unpleasant things for you to tear to pieces.

I would like to present a few propositions all of which are in the realm of intellectual and educational change—which I believe to be fundamental in all social changes.

Chapter Note: Free China Review. Mar., 1962. Vol. 12. No. 3. pp. 39–41.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History (Volume 2)*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9_28, © Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013

I believe that, in order to pave the way for the growth of science, in order to prepare ourselves to receive and welcome the modern civilization of science and technology, we Orientals may have to undergo some kind of intellectual change or revolution.

This intellectual revolution has two aspects. Negatively, we should get rid of our deep-rooted prejudice that, while the West has undoubtedly excelled in its material and materialistic civilization, we Orientals can take pride in our superior spiritual civilization. We may have to get rid of this unjustifiable pride and learn to admit that there is very little spirituality in the civilization of the East. And positively, we should learn to understand and appreciate that science and technology are not materialistic but are highly idealistic and spiritual values; indeed they represent a true idealism and spirituality sadly underdeveloped in our Oriental civilizations.

First, I submit that there is not much spirituality in our older civilizations of the East. What spirituality is there in a civilization which tolerated so cruel and inhuman an institution as footbinding for women for over a thousand years? Or in a civilization which tolerated the caste system for many thousands of years? What spiritual values are there in a civilization which considers life as painful and not worth living and which glorifies poverty and mendicancy and sanctifies disease as an act of the gods?

Indeed, what spirituality is there in an old beggarwoman who dies in dire destitution but who dies still mumbling *Namo Amitabha*!—dying in the hope that her soul may go to that blissful paradise presided over by the Amita Buddha?

It is high time that we Orientals begin to confess that there is little or no spirituality in such old civilizations which belong to an age when man had reached physical senility and mental sluggishness and felt himself impotent to cope with the forces of nature. Indeed, a full realization of the total absence of spirituality and even of vitality in such old civilizations seems to be a necessary intellectual preparation for a full understanding of the modern civilization of science and technology which glorifies life and utilizes human intelligence for betterment of the conditions of life.

Second, it is equally important and necessary for us of the Orient to acknowledge freely that this new civilization of science and technology is not something forced upon us, nor something to be despised or reluctantly tolerated as the material civilization of the materialistic peoples of the West—but something which we must learn to love and respect as the truly great spiritual achievement of man. For modern science is the cumulative achievement of that which is the most spiritual and indeed most divine in man, namely, the creative intelligence of man, which seeks to know, to find, to wring from nature her little secrets by means of rigid methods of research and experimentation.

"Truth is never easily found," and never reveals itself to insolent souls who approach nature with unaided hands and untrained sense-organs. The history of science and the lives of the great scientists are most inspiring documents to enable us fully to understand the spiritual nature of the men of science,—the patience, the perseverance, the selfless search for truth, the disheartening failures, and the truly spiritual joy and raptures at moments of successful discovery and verification.

In the same sense, even technology is not to be viewed as merely application of scientific knowledge to the making of tools and machines. Every tool of civilization is a product of the intelligence of man making use of matter and energy for the

embodiment of an idea or a vast combination of ideas or concepts. Man has been defined as *Homo faber*, as a tool-making animal. And it is tool-making that constitutes civilization.

Indeed tool-making was so highly regarded by men that many a great invention such as fire was attributed to some of the greatest gods. Confucius was reported to have made the wise observation that all implements of civilization are spiritual in origin; they all came from "ideas" (*hsiang*).

> When conceived, they are called ideas. When materially embodied, they are called implements. When instituted for general use, they are called models or patterns. When wrought into the everyday life of all the people, the people marvel them and call them the work of the gods.

So it is not unbecoming for us Orientals to regard science and technology as highly spiritual achievements of men.

In short, I propose that we of the East, on the threshold of new civilization of science and technology, would do well to acquire for ourselves some such intellectual preparation for its proper reception and appreciation.

In short, we in the Orient would do well to acquire *a philosophy of the scientific and technological civilization*.

Some 35 years ago, I proposed to reconsider and re-define the much misused and very confusing phrases: "Spiritual civilization," "Material civilization," and "Materialistic civilization."

The term "Material civilization" ought to have a purely neutral meaning, for all tools of civilization are material embodiments of ideas, and a stone axe or a clay idol is no less material than huge modern oceanliner or a jet-propelled airplane. An Oriental poet or philosopher sailing on a primitive sampan boat has no right to laugh at or belittle the material civilization of the men flying over his head in a modern jet airliner.

But I proposed that the term "Materialistic civilization," which has often been applied to stigmatize the scientific and technological civilization of the modern Western world, seems to me to be a more appropriate word for the characterization of those backward civilizations of the older world. For to me that civilization is "materialistic" which is limited and weighed down by its material environment and incapable of transcending it, which fails to make full use of human intelligence for the conquest of nature and for the improvement of the conditions of Man. In short, I would consider a civilization abjectly "materialistic" which feels itself powerless against its material environment and conquered by it.

On the other hand, I propose to regard the modern civilization of science and technology as highly idealistic and spiritual. This is what I said some 35 years ago: "That civilization which makes the fullest possible use of human ingenuity and intelligence in search of truth in order to control nature and transform matter for the service of mankind, to relieve the human body from unnecessary hardship and suffering, to multiply man's power by thousand times and hundred-thousand times, to liberate the human spirit from ignorance, superstition, and slavery to the force of nature, and to reform and remake human institutions for the greatest good of the greatest number—such a civilization is highly idealistic and truly spiritual."

That was my enthusiastic eulogy of the modern civilization of science and technology—first spoken and written in Chinese in 1925 and 1926, later spoken many times in Britain and the United States in 1926, and 1927, and later published in English in 1928 as a chapter in a symposium entitled *Whither Mankind* edited by Professor Charles A. Beard.

It was no blind condemnation of the older civilizations of the East, nor blind worship of the modern civilization of the West. It was a considered opinion of a young student of the history of thought and civilization.

As I now look back, I still stand by what I said some 35 years ago. I still think it a fairly just appraisal of the civilizations of the East and the West. I still believe that such a reappraisal of the older civilizations of the East, and of the modern civilization of science and technology is an intellectual revolution necessary to prepare us Orientals for a sincere and wholehearted reception of modern science.

Without some such heartsearching reappraisals and re-evaluations, without some such intellectual convictions, there may be only halfhearted acceptance of science and technology as an unavoidable nuisance, as a necessary evil, at best as something of utilitarian value but of no intrinsic worth.

Without acquiring some such a philosophy of the scientific and technological civilization, I am afraid, science will not take deep root in our midst, and we of the Orient will never feel quite at home in this new world.

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